ROBERT DUTHOY

THE TAUROBOLIUM

ITS EVOLUTION AND TERMINOLOGY

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ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

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TOME DIXIÈME

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LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1969

Lactora (Lectoure) nº 112

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WITH A FRONTISPIECE AND ONE MAP

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

AAN MIJN OUDERS
IN LIEFDEVOLLE DANKBAARHEID

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

AE	*L'Année Epigraphique, Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine.*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
Allard	P. Allard, *Julien l'Apostat,* I, Paris 1906, 30-35.
Allmer	A. Allmer-P.Dissard, *Inscriptions antiques du musée de Lyon,* I, Lyon 1888, 15-47.
Anrich	G. Anrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum,* Göttingen 1894, 54-57; 161.
Arch. Zeit.	*Archaeologische Zeitung.*
Arq. Port.	*O Arqueologo Português.*
Ath. Mitt.	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athen. Abt.).*
Bailey	C. Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome,* Berkeley 1932, 201-203.
Bayet	J. Bayet, *Histoire politique et psychologique de la religion romaine,* Paris 1957.
BCTH	*Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques.*
Beaujeu	J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'empire,* I, *La politique religieuse des Antonins,* Paris 1955, 103; 105; 313-316.
Bloch, *Document*	H. Bloch, *A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West* in *Harvard Theological Review,* 38 (1945), 199-244.
Bloch, *Revival*	H. Bloch, *The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century* in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, Essays edited by A. Momigliano,* Oxford 1963, 193-218.
Boissier	G. Boissier, *La religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins,* I, Paris 1874, 412-417.
Bömer	F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom. Vierter Teil: Epilegomena* in *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlung der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse* 10 (1963), 35; 38; 40; 43; 44.
Bonner	C. Bonner, *Some Phases of Religious Feeling in Later Paganism* in *Harvard Theological Review,* 30 (1937), 119-140.
Bouyer	L. Bouyer, *Le salut dans les religions à mystères* in *Revue des sciences religieuses,* 27 (1953), 1-16.
Briem	O. E. Briem, *Les sociétés secrètes de mystères,* Paris 1941, 313-314.
Carcopino	J. Carcopino, *Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne,* Paris 1941.

CE	F. Buecheler - E. Lommatzsch, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, Lipsiae, I, 1895; II, 1897; III, 1926.
Cesano	L. Cesano, *Criobolium* in Rugg II, 2, Spoleto 1910, 1275-1278.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, Hagae Comitis I, 1956; II, 1960.
Clemen, *Christ.*	C. Clemen, *Der Einfluss des Christentums auf andere Religionen*, Leipzig 1933, 25-27.
Clemen, *Myst.*	C. Clemen, *Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum*, Giessen 1913.
CRAI	*Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*
Crazannes	Chaudruc de Crazannes, *Dissertation sur le taurobole et sur les inscriptions tauroboliques de la ville de Lectoure* in *Mémoires de la société royale des antiquaires de France* 13 (1837), 121-180.
Cumont, *Anahita*	F. Cumont, *Le taurobole et le culte d'Anahita* in *RA* 12 (1888), 132-136.
Cumont, *Attis* 1895	F. Cumont, *Attis* in Rugg I, Roma 1895, 763-766.
Cumont, *Attis* 1901	F. Cumont, *Attis* in *RE* II, Stuttgart 1901, 2247-2252; *Suppl.* I, Stuttgart 1903, 225.
Cumont, *Bellone*	F. Cumont, *Le taurobole et le culte de Bellone* in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 6 (1901), 97-110.
Cumont, *Criobolium*	F. Cumont, *Criobolium* in *RE* IV, Stuttgart 1901, 1718-1719.
Cumont, *Mithra*	F. Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles 1900, 71.
Cumont, *RO*	F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris 1929[4].
Cumont, *RPh*	F. Cumont, notice on Espérandieu, *Lectoure* in *Revue de Philologie* 17 (1893), 194-197.
De Boissieu	J. De Boissieu, *Inscriptions antiques de Lyon*, Lyon 1846, 21-39.
De Boze	De Boze, *Explication d'une inscription antique où sont décrites les particularités des sacrifices appelez tauroboles* in *Mémoires de littérature, tirez des régistres de l'Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, II, Paris 1717, 475-509.
Defradas	J. Defradas, *Le symbolisme du taureau* in *L'Information littéraire* 12 (1960), 204-212.
De Labriolle	P. De Labriolle, *La réaction païenne*, Paris 1934[2], 349, *passim.*
Derchain	Ph. Derchain, *Siegfried et le taurobole* in *Annales de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales de l'Université de Bruxelles* 15 (1958-60), 83-87.
Dessau	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berolini 1954-55[2].

Dey	J. Dey, Παλιγγενεσία, Münster 1937, 65-86.
Diels	H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin 1890, 69-70.
Dieterich	A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig 1923³, 53.
Drexler	W. Drexler, *Meter* in *Roscher* II, Leipzig 1894-97, 2854-2931.
Dussaud	R. Dussaud, *Introduction à l'histoire des religions*, Paris 1914, 232-235.
Duthoy, *Beneventum*	R. Duthoy, *La Minerva Berecyntia des inscriptions tauroboliques de Bénévent* (*CIL IX, 1538-1542*) in *L'Antiquité Classique* 35 (1966), 548-561.
Duthoy, *Note*	R. Duthoy, *Note sur l'inscription I. L. Afr. 356 = A.E. 1917-18 no. 17* in *Latomus* 25 (1966), 567-569.
Duthoy, *Zadar*	R. Duthoy, *Traces archéologiques de tauroboles à Zadar?* in *Latomus* 27 (1968), 622-629.
EE	*Ephemeris Epigraphica*.
Eisele	Th. Eisele, *Die phrygische Kulte und ihre Bedeutung für die griechisch-römische Welt* in *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik* 23 (1909), 620-637.
Espérandieu, *Lectoure*	E. Espérandieu, *Inscriptions antiques de Lectoure*, Auch-Paris 1892, 15-63; 94-128.
Espérandieu, *Recueil*	E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*, Paris-Bruxelles 1907-1928.
Fabre	P. Fabre, *Un autel du culte phrygien au Musée du Latran* in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome* 40 (1923), 3-18.
Farney	R. Farney, *La religion de l'empereur Julien et le mysticisme de son temps*, Paris 1934.
García y Bellido	A. García y Bellido, *Les religions orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*, Leiden 1967.
Geffcken	J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, Heidelberg 1929², 6; 24; 25-29; 159; 252; 297.
Goehler	H. Goehler, *De Matris Magnae apud Romanos Cultu*, Lipsiae 1886, 52-59.
Gordon	A. E. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions*, 3 vol. + 3 vol. of Plates + Ind., Berkeley 1958-1965.
Graillot	H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle*, Paris 1912, 150-187.
Grenier	A. Grenier, *Les religions étrusque et romaine*, Paris 1948, 210-211.
Gressmann	H. Gressmann, *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter*, Berlin-Leipzig 1930.
Gruppe	O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, II, München 1906, 1552-1554.
Hepding	H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult*, Giessen 1903, 196-201.
Hoefer	O. Hoefer, *Meter* in *Roscher*, II, 2, Leipzig 1894-97, 2848-2854.

IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
IGRR	R. Cagnat - J. Toutain - P. Jouguet - G. Lafaye, *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, I, III, IV, Paris 1906-1927.
ILAfr	R. Cagnat - A. Merlin - L. Chatelain, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique, Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc*, Paris 1923.
ILAlg, I	St. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, I, *Inscriptions de la Proconsulaire*, Paris 1922.
ILGaul. Narb.	E. Espérandieu, *Inscriptions latines de Gaule*, Paris 1928-1929.
ILTun	A. Merlin, *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*, Paris 1944.
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
Jullian	C. Jullian, *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux*, I, Bordeaux 1893, 33-37.
Kaibel	G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berlin 1878 = Hildesheim 1965.
Kautz	N. Kautz-J. Schmiedel, *De taurobolio*, Lipsiae 1738.
Koerte	A. Koerte, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, III c, *Delicli-tasch* in *Athen. Mitt.* 23 (1898), 97-105.
Lagrange, *Attis*	M. J. Lagrange, *Attis ressuscité* in *Revue Biblique* 36 (1927), 561-566.
Lagrange, *Christ.*	M. J. Lagrange, *Attis et le Christianisme* in *Revue Biblique* 16 (1919), 419-480.
Lambrechts, *Attis*	P. Lambrechts, *Attis, van herdersknaap tot god*, Brussel 1962.
Lambrechts, *Fêtes*	P. Lambrechts, *Les fêtes „phrygiennes" de Cybèle et d'Attis* in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 27 (1952), 141-170.
Lambrechts, *Grens*	P. Lambrechts, *Op de grens van heidendom en christendom*, Brussel 1955.
Lambrechts, *Hilariën*	P. Lambrechts, *Attis en het feest der Hilariën*, Amsterdam 1967.
Lambrechts, *Myst.*	P. Lambrechts, *Over griekse en oosterse mysteriegodsdiensten, de zgn. Adonismysteries*, Brussel 1954.
Latte	K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, München 1960, 353-356.
Lavergne	A. Lavergne, *Revue de Gascogne* 23 (1892), 507, note about *vires excipere.*
Lebègue	Cl. Lebègue, *Note sur les tauroboles et le christianisme* in *Revue Historique* 37 (1888), 315-318.
Le Gall	J. Le Gall, *Inscription criobolique découverte à Utique* in *Karthago* 9 (1958), 119-127.
Loisy	A. Loisy, *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien*, Paris 1930², 112-120.
Malten	L. Malten, *Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild* in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts* 43 (1928), 90-139.

Marquardt, *Culte*	J. Marquardt, *Le culte chez les Romains*, I, Paris 1889.
Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*	J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, III, Leipzig 1878, 87-89.
Moore, *Duration*	C. H. Moore, *The duration of the Efficacy of the Taurobolium* in *Classical Philology* 19 (1924), 363-365.
Moore, *Origin*	C. H. Moore, *On the Origin of the Taurobolium* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 17 (1906), 43-48.
MSAF	*Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France.*
Nilsson	M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechische Religion*, II, München 1961², 651-654.
NSA	*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.*
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, *Orientis graecae inscriptiones selectae*, Leipzig 1903-1905 = Hildesheim 1960.
Oppermann	H. Oppermann, *Taurobolia* in *RE* IX, Stuttgart 1934, 16-21.
Pettazzoni	R. Pettazzoni, *I misteri. Saggio di una teoria storico-religiosa*, Bologna 1924, 107-108; 131-134.
PLM	*Poetae Latinae Minores*, ed. Baehrens
Preller	L. Preller - H. Jordan, *Römische Mythologie*, Berlin 1883³, 390-394.
Pruemm	K. Pruemm, *Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der Altchristlichen Umwelt*, Rome 1954², 262-263.
Rapp, *Attis*	A. Rapp, *Attis* in *Roscher*, I, Leipzig 1884-1890, 716-727.
Rapp, *Kybele*	A. Rapp, *Kybele* in *Roscher*, II, Leipzig 1890-1897, 1638-1672.
RA	*Revue Archéologique.*
RE	*Pauly-Wissowa, Real. Enc. Class. Altert.*
REA	*Revue des Etudes Anciennes.*
Reitzenstein	R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterien-religionen*, Leipzig 1927³, 22; 45; 46; 165.
Réville	J. Réville, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Paris 1888, 68-69; 96-97.
Richard	L. Richard, *L'autel taurobolique de Texon* in *Revue Archéologique du Centre* 6 (1967), 101-118.
Richard	L. Richard, *L'autel taurobolique du Pouzin* in *REA* 69 (1967), 255-265.
Roscher	*Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, herausgegeben von W. H. Roscher*, Leipzig 1894-1926.
Rugg	De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico di Antichità romane.*
Rummens	A. Rummens, *Het taurobolium*, doct. thesis, Leuven 1942, typescript.

Sayous	E. Sayous, *Le taurobole* in *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 16 (1887), 137-156.
Schepelern	W. Schepelern, *Der Montanismus und die phrygische Kulte*, Tübingen 1929, 105-122.
Schütze	A. Schütze, *Mithras-Mysterien und Urchristentum*, Stuttgart 1960², 118.
Schwenn	E. Schwenn, *Kybele* in *RE* XI, Stuttgart 1922, 2250-2258.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
Semper	M. Semper, *Rassen und Religionen im Alten Vorderasien*, Heidelberg 1930, 187; 258; 301; 307.
Showerman	G. Showerman, *The great Mother of the Gods* in *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Philol. Series* I, 3, 43 (1901), 280-284.
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Vindobonae, I, 1901; II, fasc. 1, 1920; fasc. 2, 1930; fasc. 3, 1943; III, fasc. 1, 1941.
ThLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Lipsiae 1904 ff.
Toutain	J. Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, II, *Les cultes de l'empire romain*, Paris 1911, 84-91.
Van Dale	A. Van Dale, *Dissertationes IX antiquitatibus quin et marmoribus cum Romanis tum potissimum Graecis illustrandis inservientes. Dissertatio I: De origine et ritibus sacri taurobolii*, Amstelodami 1702, 1-174.
Wickert	L. Wickert, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise zur Vorbereitung von CIL II suppl. 2* in *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. Wissensch. (Phil.-Hist. Kl.)* 32 (1931), 827-844.
Willoughby	H. R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration*, Chicago 1929 = 1960.
Wissowa	G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München 1912², 322-327.
Zippel	G. Zippel, *Das Taurobolium* in *Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Doctorjubiläum Ludw. Friedländers*, Leipzig 1895, 498-520.

GERMANIA INFERIOR
BELGICA
GERMANIA
GALLIA LVGDVNENSIS
VESVLVM
DIVODVRVM
AQVITANIA
GERMANIA SVPERIOR
COLONIA COPIA CLAVDIA AVGVSTA LVGDVNVM
COLONIA IVLIA AVGVSTA TAVRINORVM
VESVNNA
BVRDIGALA
TEGNA
LACTORA
VALENTIA
CAVEIRAC
DEA AVGVSTA VOCONTIORVM
ALBA HELVIORVM
VASIO
ARAVSIO
VINTIVM
COLONIA IVLIA PATERNA CLAVDIA NARBO MARTIVS
COLONIA IVLIA AVGVSTA APOLLINARIS REIORVM
FORVM POPILII
ASSERIA
DALMATIA
TEATE MARRVCINORVM
LVSITANIA
REGIO II
ROMA
OSTIA
LAVINIVM
LABII
PRAENESTE
BENEVENTVM
ANTIVM
FORMIAE
PUTEOLI
EMERITA AVGVSTA
PAX IVLIA
BRINDISIVM
ILION
PERGAMON
OSSONOBA
CORDVBA
BAETICA
MARE
ASIA
ATHENAE
SICILIA
AFRICA
VTICA
PINARA
ACHAIA
TIPASA
MILEV
THIBILIS
CARTHAGO
PROCONSVLARIS
INTERNVM
NVMIDIA
DIANA VETERANORVM
MACTAR
BYZACENA
GALLIA LVGDVNENSIS
BELGICA
GERMANIA MAGNA
GERMANIA SVP.
AQVITANIA
DALMATIA
GALLIA NARBONENSIS
ALPES MARITIMAE
ITALIA
ACHAIA
PONTOS EVXEINOS

INTRODUCTION

When in the fourth century of our era the struggle between paganism and Christianity was at its fiercest and it was gradually becoming clear that the new religion would be victorious, the *taurobolium* was one of the weapons the worshippers of the old gods made use of. One has merely to consider the names of a few of the dedicators from the second half of the fourth century to see that this is so—Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius, Quintus Clodius Flavianus, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Ceionius Rufius Volusianus. A passage in St. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Oratio c. Jul.*, 10, 52) seems even to imply that the Emperor Julian himself received the *taurobolium*.

But before this stage the *taurobolium* had already been through a long evolution. Indeed the word in its Greek form—ταυροβόλιον—occurs in inscriptions as early as the first century B.C., while κριοβόλιον is found in one that dates from about 135 B.C. The total number of inscriptions that record a *taurobolium* or *criobolium* is 133, and of these all but five dated before A.D. 160 belong in the context of the cult of Cybele.

The *taurobolium* inscriptions have been found mainly in the western provinces of the Roman Empire. Only the four oldest inscriptions, which record *taurobolia* and *criobolia* in Asia Minor (and do not, moreover, belong to the metroac cult), and two rather late ones from Athens are from the East. The remaining 128 come from all the western regions, but especially from Africa, Italy and, above all, Gaul. Rome is the city that has produced the largest number of inscriptions. It is strange that not one of them is earlier than A.D. 295. Other cities in which large numbers of *taurobolia* were celebrated were Lactora, Narbo, Ostia, Carthage, and Lugdunum—that is if we may judge by the relative quantity of inscriptions.

As well as these epigraphical sources, varying greatly in date and place of origin, we also have a much smaller number of literary texts, all of which were composed during the second half of the fourth century and consequently refer to the last stage of the

evolution of the taurobolium. Moreover, with the exception of an unhelpful passage in the *Historia Augusta*, they were all written by Christian apologists who would naturally stress those aspects of the horrible heathen habits that supported their arguments the best. In previous studies of the *taurobolium* these factors have not always been taken into account, and the explicitness of the literary texts has led scholars to make far more use of them than of the inscriptions.

Indeed this study is only the latest in a series that began in 1702 with the publication of Van Dale's 174 page thesis on the origin, nature, *vires* and terminology of the *taurobolium*. Scarcely thirty years later Kautz and Schmiedel published a shorter and rather uninteresting study that remained the last word on the subject until Chaudruc de Crazannes' book with its detailed consideration of the inscriptions from Lectoure appeared in 1837. The last scholar to investigate the problems of the *taurobolium* before Cumont set his stamp on the whole subject was Sayous, whose conclusions and interpretations have in many cases been shown to be correct by further research.

F. Cumont and H. Graillot brought the *taurobolium* into the centre of scholarly interest, and the picture they sketched of the rite is the one generally accepted today and given in the majority of the handbooks of religious history. Cumont was especially interested in the origin of the rite; Graillot in the place it had in the whole context of the cult of Cybele. These two scholars based their investigations mainly upon the evidence provided by Prudentius, and tried to find as much confirmation as possible of his description in the various inscriptions. The *taurobolium* we find in their writings is one that underwent almost no change either in form or intention. Zippel paid more attention to the inscriptions, and even proposed some form of evolution in the rite, but did not develop the idea in any detail. The article written by Oppermann for RE is merely a summary of the traditional interpretation, in spite of the fact that Lagrange had meantime subjected it to a certain amount of criticism. Dey's study of 1937 was even more critical and was, at the same time, more or less the last important contribution to the subject to appear in print. Rummens' important thesis of 1942

was never published. He was the first to appreciate the great value of the inscriptions, but although he did not hesitate to criticize the traditional theories one could not say that he made use of all the information that can be extracted from the sources.

In reading these various treatments of the subject one cannot escape a feeling of incompleteness. Scholars have attached far too much importance to the literary texts, and have not always treated them in an adequately critical fashion. All too often they based their investigations on assumptions about the oriental origins of the idea of resurrection in the cult of Cybele and of all the ceremonies in the various oriental religions. They could not always resist the temptation to make comparisons and apply Christian terms to pagan rites, or to take an expression such as *in aeternum renatus* that only occurs once and assert that this could have been used in all *taurobolium* inscriptions. These mistakes of method together with disregard for the chronology of the sources naturally led to the drawing of many mistaken conclusions.

In the present book we have tried to avoid these errors as much as we could. The plan of the volume reflects the path our investigation has followed. The first thing to do was collect all the sources, and the result of this process was Part I in which all the documents both literary and epigraphic have been assembled. The inscriptions, with the description of any representations on the stone, have been checked, so far as was possible, against the MS of the Cybele corpus that M. J. Vermaseren has in preparation. The literary texts have been taken over unaltered from the most satisfactory editions. The purpose of this first part of the study is merely to put all the available sources in the reader's hands so that he can immediately check any statements in other chapters of the book.

The second part is an analysis of the inscriptions in which the various elements of which they are composed are successively considered. A distinction is drawn between the verbs and the other data such as motive, intention, dedication, costs, and the name given to the ceremony. And finally in Part III we have sketched a picture of the *taurobolium* based on the results of this analysis.

Now that we have completed this study it is our pleasant duty to express our thanks to all those who have helped us in carrying

it out. The first to be mentioned must of course be Professor P. Lambrechts, Prorector of the Rijksuniversiteit in Ghent, who suggested this subject to us and supervised the preparation of the thesis out of which this book has grown. It was he who pointed out the importance of a more detailed study of the terminology, and it was in his course on the History of Religion that we first saw the significance of a chronological arrangement of sources. During all the time we have been working on this publication his advice has always been made avaible to us. Responsibility for the views expressed herein is, however, ours alone. Professor G. Sanders has shown his interest in our researches ever since their beginning, and, with his criticisms, suggestions and inexhaustible fund of bibliographical information, has been of the very greatest assistance. We have never sought his help in vain. We should also like to thank Dr W. Büchwald of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* who so kindly sent us his material for the article *Taurobolium*, and Brill's classical editor, T. A. Edridge, who translated the present book from the Dutch manuscript. And last but by no means least we should like to express our gratitude to M. J. Vermaseren for all he has done for this book. He has not only helped in its preparation, but has also provided many corrections and additions for Part I, has permitted us to make use of the proofs of García y Bellido's volume in this series, has found a copy of Etienne's article that we had looked for without result, and has furnished the frontispiece in this volume. We are most grateful for his including our work in this series.

PART I

THE SOURCES

A. THE INSCRIPTIONS

A number of inscriptions that are supposed by some scholars to record *taurobolia* have not been included. They are CIL VI, 500; CIL XIII, 1827 and 2922; EE VIII, 455, in which we find not the slightest hint of a *taurobolium*. Those *taurobolium* altars that have no inscription (i.e. CIL XII, 4324 add p. 845; CIL XIII, 2529; Espérandieu, *Recueil*, I, 315; 317; 318 and II, 1070; 1399; 1582) have also been excluded. L. Richard,[1]) who has studied this altar in great detail, claims that there are still a large number of unpublished *taurobolium* altars in the former *tres Galliae*. CIL VIII, 1407 = 14.907 does have the phrase *occisis tau . . .*, but this hardly seems sufficient indication that it actually was a *taurobolium* inscription.

ASIA MINOR

1. ILION

Caskey, *New inscriptions from Troy* in *AJA* 39 (1935), 589-591 with plate.

1 ['I]λιεῖς καὶ αἱ πόλεις αἱ κοινωνοῦσαι | τῆς θυσίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος | καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐτίμησαν | 'Αγάθην Μηνοφίλου 'Ιλιέα | εἰκόνι τῇδε προσκλήσι πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ | καὶ εἰς τὰς προεδρίας αὐτὸν | καὶ ἐκγόνους μετοχῇ τῶν κοινῶν | ἱερῶν καθ' ἕκαστον· ἐνιαυτὸν |
5 ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῆς κοινῆς | τῶν πόλεων πανηγύρεως | ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλοδόξως | καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα ὑπὸ τὰ μεγάλα. | [Πα]ναθήναια φιλοδόξως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς | ἐπιτελέσαντα δὲ καὶ ταυροβόλια δὶς | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπὸ πλειόνων ταύρων | τεσσαράκοντα ἐπισήμως τε | καὶ μεγαλομερῶς καὶ ἀξίως | τῆς πανηγύρεως ἀρετῆς

[1]) Richard 115, note 50. The author was so kind as to give me a survey of the inscribed altars known to him in Gaul, and I have consequently been able to add the following monuments: Espérandieu, *Recueil*, I, 320; IX, 6886; XV, 8783.

ἕνεκεν | καὶ εὐσεβείας μὲν τῆς εἰς τὴν θεὰν. | εὐεργεσίας δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν. |

1st century B.C. (L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Paris 1940, 315 note 3)

2. PERGAMON

IGRR, IV, 294; *Athen. Mitt.* 29 (1904), 152-153; OGIS, 764.

23 ---------- καὶ ἐπιμεληθ]εὶς καὶ τούτων ὡς ἐπεδέχετο κάλλιστα καὶ παραστήσας θυσίαν αὐτοῖς [ὡς καλλίστην μετέδωκεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς εἰς ἔπαθλα τοῖς τε ἐφήβοις] | καὶ νέοις εἴς τε διαδρομὰς καὶ τοὺς διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀγῶνας. βουλόμενος δὲ [---------- τοῖς τε νομιζομένοις
25 κατὰ τὰ πάτρια | ἐπ]ακολουθεῖν καὶ ἀγαγεῖν εἰς ἀνανέωσιν τὰ διὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐπεισχημένα χάριν το[ῦ ---------- ---------- ὑπ' αὐ]|τοῦ συντελεσθέντων ἐν τῆι γυμνασιαρχίαι σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς κακεῖνος φιλοδ[οξήσας ---------- ---------- καὶ ἐπαγγειλάμενος |
27 π]οιῆσαι καὶ τὰ κριοβόλια τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων μεταπαιδιᾶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕνεκεν [---------- καὶ παραστήσας κριὸν ὡς κάλλιστον κεχρυσω]| μένον τὰ κέρατα χάριν (τοῦ) κρατηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν νέων αὐτοῦ καὶ καλλιερηθέ[ντος ----------
29 ------ διένειμεν δὲ τὰ] | ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας εἰς ἔπαθλα τοῖς τε ἐφήβοις καὶ νέοις εἴς τε διαδρομὰς καὶ τοὺς διὰ τῶν ὅ[πλων ἀγῶνας, etc.

c. 135 B.C.

3. PERGAMON

IGRR, IV, 494; 499; 500 passim.

494. 10 sqq. τῷ προσκομισθέντι σα..... | διω ἐπιτυθέντος χοίρο[υ] ..... | νον δηνάριον α'· Βάλβου ταυροβ(όλιον) ..... | ταυροβ(όλιον) λιθαστέντων τ..... | τῶν τῷ Εὐεργέτῃ χαρακ[τηρ] ..... || βοὸς τοῦ ἀναχθέντος.

499. ['Επὶ 'Ι]ουλ. Μ.. | [πρυτ]άνεως· [χρήματα τὰ | ἔνγρ]αφα ἀπετ[είσθη..... | ....]άλλου καὶ ..... || [Φλ?]ώρου Βιψανία[ι

ἀρχιερεῦσι?] | ....ίου η' α καὶ Περει[τίου ... ὑπὸ Αὔλου Ἰου|λί]ου
Κουαδράτου β' ὑ[πάτου δραχμαὶ.. εἰς ταυροβόλι?]|ον, Λασθένους
5 δραχμαὶ [..εἰς .....] | ταύρου τοῦ ἐπιτυ[θησομένου,
.....] || εἰς ταυροβ(όλιον) ....., | Τυλ(λίου)
Βάλβου εἰς [..... ὁλό]|κληρον Κλ..... |
Π. Κλ..... | .....
500.a. Ἀγαθ[ῆι τύχηι.| Ἐπὶ]...αονος .....[πρυτάνεως]| .... Ἀλ-
βίου Ἰου[λιανοῦ?.. | ἀπειτείσ]θη εἰς τὸ [ταυροβόλιον?] || ....
κίππου.. | ...δηνάρια ρξ. ακλ...|... δαια.... | ...ουφ... |
[Κ]λ(αυδίου) .....
b. ....|ων .....|γραφ..... | γραμ[μα].... ||βασε..... | ἄλ-
5 λῳ?... | ἄλλη.... | Πωλλίω[νος] ...|μη(νὸς) Δείο[υ .....
ταυροβόλιον?] || λιθασ[θέντων?] .... | μη(νὸς).....

c. A.D. 105

4. PINARA (Minara)

Block of limestone m. 0,55 in height, m. 0,91 in breadth, and m. 0,43 in thickness, broken at the top and on the right.

TAM II 508; J. A. O. Larsen, *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, II, 508 in *Classical Philology* 38 (1943), 177-190: Part I, *Introduction, Text and Commentary*, 246-255; Part II, *Discussion*.

[Πιναρέων ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν ..... ca. 20 .....δόντα
παν]δ[η]μίαν [δημοθοι]νίαν παν[ήγυριν· καὶ ἐφάμιλλον γεγονό-
τ]α ἀρίστοις τῶν Λυ[κ]ίων ἰδιωῶς· κα[ὶ πορίσαντα χορηγί-]
αν κ[αὶ] ἵππο[υς] καὶ [ὅ]πλα ἱππάρ[χ]ω [καὶ περαίτερον αὐτῶ τούτω]
5 σκηνήν· κ[αὶ δ]όντα Τλωεῦσιν [ἐ]πίδο[σιν εἰς κυνήγια καὶ προκυνή-
γ]ια καὶ ἀργυρικὰς ἐπιδόσεις κ[α]ὶ τε [τ]ειμη[μένον· καὶ
δόντ[α] Πιναρεῦσιν κυνήγια καὶ πρ[ο]κυνήγια κα[ὶ ταυροβόλια]
καὶ ἀργυρικὰς ἐπιδόσεις πρῶτον κα[ὶ πάλιν] θηριο[μάχια παν-
τοῖα· κ]αὶ ἐναντί[ον] δόν[τ]α [Κ]υανεί[ται]ς κυνήγια κα[ὶ <προκυνη->]
10 προκ[υνήγ]ια καὶ ἀργυρικὴν ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ε[ἰς ἀργυρι-]
κὴν ἐπ[ίδ]οσιν [ἐ]φ' ἱερὰ [Κιναί]θου κ[α]ὶ Ταμί[ο]υ καὶ Λοσατίου [καὶ ἀρ-
γ]υρικὴν ἐπ[ί]δ[οσ]ι[ν κ]αὶ θηριομ[ά]χια κα[ὶ τ]α[υ]ρ[ομ]άχια· καὶ [δόν-
τα] Κο[ρυ]δ[α]λε[ῦ]σι[ν] κυνήγια καὶ προκυ[ν]ήγια καὶ ταυροβό[λια
καὶ ἕν

ᾳ̣γχ̣[ο]ς δ̣όντ[α] π[ερ]αίτ̣ερ[ο]γ̣ ε̣ἰ̣[ς] κοιν[ὴ]γ̣ κ[υκλι]κ̣ὴγ̣ δίμ̣ηγ̣[ον θυσίαν· και
δό]γ̣[τα] Τ̣λωε̣[ῦσι]γ̣ [κ]ῠ̣νήγια καὶ προκυνήγια καὶ τὰς ϙε̣[ιτομετρίας] καὶ ἀργυρικ̣ὴν ἐπίδοσιγ̣ ἔ̣ναν[χο]ς καὶ τ̣ετειμη[μένον· καὶ] δόντα Τελμησσεῦσιγ̣ κυνήγια καὶ προκυνήγια μ̣[ηνὸς] Δύ̣στρ̣ου̣ [κ]ᾳ̣ὶ ἀρ[γ]υρικ̣ὴν ἐπίδοσιν πρῶ̣τ̣[ο]ν κ̣ᾳ̣ὶ [τ]ετειμη[μένον·] τ[ε]τειμημένον δὲ πρ̣[ὶ]ν κᾳ̣ὶ ὑπὸ Σιδυμέ̣ω̣ν καὶ Βᾳ̣[λ]βουρέ[ων καὶ Λυ-] δᾳ̣τῶγ̣ καὶ Καλυνδίων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Καᾳ̣ρίας προε̣ισο[διάσαντα] μυριάδας ἀτόκους λ′· πρεσβεύσαντᾳ̣ τρὶς ὑπὲρ τ[ῆς Λυκίας·] <δόντα> τοῖς μὲν τῶν ξενοκριτῶν δ′ [συ]σ[τ]ᾑμ̣ᾳσιγ̣ ᾳ̣ὐ̣ὰ ,ε, π[ᾶσι δὲ βου-] λευταῖς καὶ ἀρχοστάταις καὶ τοῖς τὰς κοινὰς τετελε[κόσιν ἀρχὰς ἀ]γ̣ᾳ̣ ς′· δεξάμενον ἀόκνως τὰς διενγυήσεις τῶν ἐπικ[λήτων, τάς τε ἐγδ]ικείας διοικήσαντα καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδωροδοκήτως [πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σε-] μνοτάτου δικαιοδότου καὶ τὴν τῶν ξενοκριτῶν δ[ιαλά-] χεσιν· καὶ δίκαιον [καὶ] μεγαλόψ[υ]χον ἐν τοῖς θει̣[

Larsen translates as follows:

The demos of Pinara (?) honored....., who gave to the whole people a festival with a banquet, and who personally ranked among the best men of the Lycians and furnished the hipparch with supplies and horses and arms and in addition a tent for his own personal use; and who gave to the people of Tlos a sum of money for doghunts and preliminary doghunts and the distribution of money and was honored; and who gave for the people of Pinara doghunts and preliminary doghunts and bullfights and a distribution of money first once and, again a second time, all sorts of animal fights; and who was personally present and gave to the people of Cyaneae doghunts and preliminary doghunts and a distribution of money, and everything needed for a distribution of money at the sanctuaries of Kynaithos (?) and Tamios (?) and Losatios (?), and a distribution of money and animal fights and bullfights; and who gave to the people of Corydalla doghunts and preliminary doghunts and bullfights and recently gave in addition money for public bimonthly sacrifices; and who recently gave to the people of Tlos doghunts and preliminary doghunts and distributions of grain and a distribution of money and was honored; and

who gave to the people of Telmessus doghunts and preliminary doghunts in the month of Dystrus and a distribution of money for the first time and was honored; who has been honored also earlier by the people of Sidyma and of Balbura and of Lydae (?) and of Calynda and by Caria for having lent 300,000 drachmas without interest; who thrice served as an ambassador in behalf of Lycia; who gave to each of the four divisions of foreign judges five thousand drachmas, and to all bouleutai and archostatai and former holders of federal magistracies two hundred drachmas each; who, without hesitation, took upon himself the furnishing of bail for those summoned to appear before the courts and, honestly and without taking bribes, served as advocate before the court of the most august epistates and the panel of foreign judges selected by lot; and who has been just and high minded .....

First century B.C.

GRAECIA-ACHAIA

5. ATHENAE (Athens)

The following description has been taken from H. Heydemann, *Die Antiken Marmor-Bildwerke zu Athen*, Berlin 1874, no. 379.

H. 0.37; B. 0.45; T. 0.37; Pentelischer Marmor. Grobe Arbeit. Hier und da bestossen.

Oben fehlen die vier an den Ecken liegenden 0,16 langen Löwen, die alle nach vorhin gerichtet waren: in der Mitte zwischen ihnen ist ein runder (Dm 0,12) Marmorstumpf erhalten (dessen Bedeutung nicht zu bestimmen ist: etwa Rest einer Figur ?) Oben und unten ringsum eine Einfassungsleiste.

I. An der *Vorderseite* die Inschrift.

II. Auf der *Rückseite* sind zwei diagonal gekreuzte brennende Fackeln angebracht; in dem dadurch gebildeten oberen dreieckigen Felde finden sich eine Oenochoe und eine Pfanne (patella), im unteren ein Tympanon und ein Pedum. Rechts und links je ein Palmenbaum.

III. *Rechte Nebenseite*

In der Mitte thronen die zwei Göttinnen Demeter und Kybele, in Vorderansicht: jene (links), in Schuhen gegürtetem Chiton und Mantel, der das Hinterhaupt verhüllt, hält die Rechte im Schooss und in der erhobenen Linken eine brennende Fackel, die auf dem linken Schenkel aufruht und um deren Schaft sich eine Schlange emporringelt; diese (rechts) in Schuhen gegürtetem Chiton und unterwärts bemäntelt, auf dem Haupt die Mauerkrone, auf der Brust zwei lange Haarlocken, hält die Rechte mit einer Schale auf dem Schooss und in der im Ellenbogen erhobenen Linken ein Tympanon (sic). Links steht ein Mann, in Vorderansicht mit rechten Spielbein, das Gesicht n.r. gewandt, in kurzem Chiton und um den Hals geknüpftem Mantel, der lang über den Rücken herabfällt; er hält in jeder Hand eine brennende Fackel über den Rücken n.r. empor. Rechts steht eine Frau in Vorderansicht, mit rechtem Spielbein, in gegürtetem Chiton poderes und Mantel, der die rechte Schulter und Brust freilässt, sie hällt in jeder Hand eine lange Fackel umgekehrt zur Erde. Oben eine Blumenschnur, von drei Bukranien gehalten, mit herabhängenden Täniенden und je einem Hängeleuchter, der mit drei Bändern befestigt ist.

IV. *Linke Nebenseite*

Rechts und links je ein Palmenbaum mit Früchten: an dem Baum links hängt eine Syrinx und ist ein Tympanon angelehnt; am anderen hängen zwei Cymbeln. Zwischen beiden Bäumen ist oben baldachinartig eine Decke aufgespannt. Darunter sitzt auf einem Thron Kybele, in Vorderansicht, in gegürtetem Chiton und Mantel, der die linke Schulter und den Unterkörper bedeckt, auf dem Kopfe (das Gesicht ist weggestossen) die Mauerkrone, auf der Brust zwei herabfallende Haarlocken. Die Göttin hält in der im Ellebogen erhobenen Linken ein Tympanon und legt die Rechte auf die linke Schulter des links neben ihr stehenden Attis, der die rechte Hand auf das umgekehrt zur Erde gesetzte Pedum stützt (und die Linke in die Seite gesetzt hat?); er ist in Schuhen kurzem langärmeligen Chiton und um den Hals geknüpftem Mantel, der über den Rücken und linken Arm herabfällt, und hat auf dem Kopfe die Phrygische Mütze. Rechts neben Kybele liegt n.r. ein Löwe, den Kopf zu ihr umwendend.

IG III, 172; Gerhard Conze, *Attischer Taurobolienaltar* in *Arch. Zeitung* 21 (1863), 74-80.

Ὁ προγόνοις ἐφάμιλλος, ὁ τὴν μεγάλην πλέον αὔξων
Ἀρχέλεως γενεὴν πράξεσι ταῖς ἰδίαις,
Ἀντίδοσιν τελετῆς τ[ῆ]ς Ταυροβόλου χάριν ἔγνω,
Βωμὸν ἀναστήσας Ἄττεω ἠδὲ Ῥέης.
Οὗτος Κεκροπίην αὐχεῖ πόλιν, οὗτος ἐν Ἄργει
Ναιετάει, βίοτον μυστικὸν εὖ διάγων·
Αὐτόθι γὰρ κλειδοῦχος ἔφυ βασιληίδος Ἥρης
Ἐν Λέρνῃ δ' ἔλαχεν μυστιπόλους δαΐδας.
Δ(ᾳ)δοῦχός με Κόρης βασιλ[ηΐ]δος, ἱερὰ σηκῶν
Ἥρας κλεῖθρα φέρων βωμὸν ἔθηκε Ῥέῃ
Ἀρχέλειος, τελετῆς συνθήματα κρυπτὰ χαράξας
Ταυροβόλου πρῶτον δεῦρο τελειομένης

6. ATHENAE (Athens)

The following description has been taken from H. Heydemann, *Die Antiken Marmor Bildwerke zu Athen*, Berlin 1873, no. 380.

H. 0.37; B. 0.40; T. 0.36. Pent. Marmor. Sehr grobe Arbeit. Oberfläche hier und da bestossen.

Oben fehlen die vier an den Ecken liegenden 0,15 langen Löwen die alle nach vornhin gerichtet waren: in der Mitte zwischen ihnen findet sich ein 0.07 tiefes Loch (Dm 0,12) — zum Einlassen eines Weihgeschenks? Oder zur Spende? Ringsum Ablauf und Gesims.

I. Auf der *Vorderseite* die Inschrift.

II. Auf der *Hinterseite* sind zwei diagonal gekreuzte brennende Fackeln angebracht: in dem dadurch gebildeten oberen dreieckigen Felde finden sich eine geriffelte Oenochoe und eine Pfanne (Patella), im unteren ein Tympanon und ein Pedum. Rechts und links je ein Palmenbaum mit Früchten.

III. *Rechte Nebenseite.* Oben bestossen.

In der Mitte thronen die zwei Göttinnen Demeter und Kybele, in Vorderansicht: jene (links), in Schuhen Chiton und Mantel, der das Hinterhaupt verhüllt, hält die Rechte mit Aehren (?) auf dem Schooss und in der erhobenen Linken eine brennende Fackel, die auf dem Linken Schenkel aufruht und um die sich eine

Schlange emporringelt; diese (rechts) in Schuhen gegürtetem Chiton und unterwärts bemäntelt, auf dem Kopf die Mauerkrone, auf der Brust zwei herabfallende Haarlocken, hält die Rechte mit der Schale auf dem Schooss und in der im Ellenbogen gehobenen linken Hand das Tympanon. Zwischen beiden liegt der Löwe, in Vorderansicht.

Links steht ein Mann, in Vorderansicht, mit linkem Spielbein das Gesicht n.r. gewandt, in kurzem gegürtetem Chiton Hosen und um den Hals geknüptfer Chlamys, die über den Rücken herabfällt, er hält in jeder Hand eine brennende Fackel über der Brust n.r. empor; sein Kopf ist weggestossen. Rechts steht auf einer Basis eine Frau (Kore), in Vorderansicht, in Schuhen gegürtetem Chiton und Mantel, der die rechte Schulter und die Brust freilässt, sie neigt ein wenig den Kopf n.l. und hält in den gesenkten Händen je eine lange brennende Fackel umgekehrt zur Erde.

Oben eine Fruchtschnur, von drei Bukranien gehalten, mit zwei kleinen Hängeleuchtern, die mit drei Bändern an je einem Feston herabhängen.

IV. *Linke Nebenseite*

Rechts und links je ein Palmenbaum mit Früchten: an dem links hängt eine Syrinx, am anderen hängen Cymbeln. Zwischen beiden Bäumen ist oben baldachinartig eine Decke aufgespannt. Darunter sitzt auf einem Thron (mit Fussbank) Kybele, in Vorderansicht, in Aermelchiton und unterwärts bemäntelt, auf dem Kopf die Mauerkrone, auf der Brust zwei herabfallende Haarlocken, sie hält in der im Ellenbogen erhobenen Linken das Tympanon und legt die Rechte auf die linke Schulter des links neben ihr stehenden Attis, welcher in Vorderansicht, mit rechtem Spielbein, den Kopf zur Göttin wendet und die Linke in die Seite setzt, während die gesenkte rechte Hand sich auf ein Tympanon und das umgekehrt auf die Erde aufgesetzte Pedum aufstützt. Er ist in Schuhen kurzem langärmeligen Chiton und um den Hals geknüpfter Chlamys, die über den Rücken und linken Arm herabfällt; auf dem Kopf hat er die Phrygische Mütze. Rechts neben Kybele liegt n. r. am Boden der Löwe, zur Göttin umblickend.

IG III, 173.

Μετὰ τὴν ὑπάτ(ειαν) Ὀνωρίου καὶ | Εὐοδίου πρὸ ἓξ Καλ(ανδῶν)

'Ιουνίων | "Αρχ(οντος) 'Ερμογένους ἐτελέσθη | ταυροβόλιον ἐν 'Αθήναις, ὅ|περ παραλαβὼν Μουσώνιος | ὁ λαμ(πρότατος) τῆς τελετῆς τὸ σύν|θημα τὸν βωμὸν ἀναί|θηκα.

27th May A.D. 387.

DALMATIA

7. ASSERIA (Podgradje)

Vir togatus stans manu dextra asciam, sinistra cornu copiae tenens, in sinistro latere patera.

In dextro praefericulum simpulum, culter, caput arietis.

CIL III, 9935.

- - [Matri] M(agnae) - - / Q(uintus) Petronius / Philippus.

ITALIA

Regio XI

8. COLONIA IULIA AUGUSTA TAURINORUM (Torino)

In sinistro latere patera, in dextro urceus.

CIL V, 6961.

Viribus / aeterni / taurobolio / Sempronia / Eutocia.

9. COLONIA IULIA AUGUSTA TAURINORUM (Torino)

Columna marmorea malis litteris.

CIL V, 6962.

Viri[b]us / aeterni / taurobolio / P. Ulattius / Priscus.

Regio VIII

10. FORUM POPILII (near Carinola)

In sinistro latere urceus; in dextro patera.

CIL X, 4726.

Munatia / Reddita sa/cerd(os) XVvir(alis) / taurobol(ium) / fecit / XII kal(endas) dec(embres) / Glabrione / II cons(ule).

20th November A.D. 186.

LATIVM

11. ROMA (Rome)

Ara marmorea; in latere dextro pinus, ex cuius ramis hinc syrinx, illinc pedum pendent; in latere sinistro capita tauri et arietis, tympana duo.

CIL VI, 497; Dessau, 4145.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) / D(ominis) N(ostris) Constan/tio et Maximia/no nob(ilissimis) Caes(aribu)s / V cons(ulibu)s XVIII k(alendas) Mai(as) / Iulius Italicus / v(ir) cl(arissimus) $\overline{XV}$-vir s(acris) f(aciundis) tauro/bolium percepi felic(iter).

14th April A.D. 305.

12. ROMA (Rome)

CIL VI, 498.

.... 1 line ..... / Antonin[us] / v(ir) c(larissimus) pontif(ex) et [quin]/decemvir sa(cris) f(aciundis) / taurobolio / confecto III kal(endas) / Ma(ias) Fl(avio) Anicio et / Nigriniano cons(ulibu)s / aram feliciter / consecravit.

29th April A.D. 350.

13. ROMA (Rome)

CIL VI, 499; Dessau, 4147.

Matri Deum Magnae / Idaee Summae Pa/renti Hermae et Attidi / Menotyranno Invicto / Clodius Hermogenianus / Caesarius v(ir) c(larissimus) procons(ul) Africae / praefec(tus) urbis Romae / XV-vir s(acris) f(aciundis) taurobolio / criobolioque perfecto / XIIII kal(endas) Aug(ustas) diis animae / suae mentisque custodibus / aram dicavit / D(omino) N(ostro) Gratiano Aug(usto) ter / et [Fl(avio)] Aequitio cons(ulibu)s.

19th July A.D. 374.

14. ROMA (Rome)

CIL VI, 501; Dessau, 4149.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) / et Attidi Sancto / Meno-

tyranno / Q(uintus) Clodius Flavianus / v(ir) c(larissimus) pont(ifex) maior / XVvir s(acris) f(aciundis) septem/vir epulonum / pontifex Dei solis / taurobolio criobo/lioque percepto / aram dicavit / nonis Aprilibus / Fl(aviis) Merobaude II / et Saturnino / cons(ulibu)s.

5th April A.D. 383.

15. ROMA (Rome)

In laevo latere ardentes faces duae decussatae, patera, urceus pedum et cochlear.

CIL VI, 502; Dessau, 4150.

. . . . . u(xor) c(larissima) f(emina) / sacerdus maxima / M(atris) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) taurobolio / criobolioque repeti/to Diis Omnipotenti/bus M(atri) D(eum) et Atti / aram dicavit / nonis Aprilibus / Fl(avio) Merobaude / v(iro) c(larissimo) iterum / et Fl(avio) Saturnino / v(iro) c(larissimo) cons(ulibu)s.

Line 1 has also been supplemented as: v(iri) c(larissimi) f(ilia).

5th April A.D. 383.

16. ROMA (Rome)

CIL VI, 503; Dessau, 4151; Gordon, 342.

Diis Omnipotentibus / Lucius Ragonius / Venustus v(ir) c(larissimus) / augur publicus / p(opuli) r(omani) Q(uiritium) pontifex / Vestalis maior / percepto taurobolio / criobolioque / X kal(endas) Iun(ias) / D(omino) N(ostro) Valentiniano / Aug(usto) IIII et / Neoterio cons(ulibu)s aram consecravit.

23rd May A.D. 390.

17. ROMA (Rome)

Basis magna marmorea; in dextro latere pinus, a qua crotala et fistulae compactae pendent et subtus adstat aries alligatus; in sinistro item pinus, a qua pedum et fistulae duae pendent, et inferius stat taurus.

CIL VI, 504; Dessau, 4153; CIMRM no. 514; CE, 264.

Dis Magnis / Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus / v(ir) c(larissimus) augur pub(licus) p(opuli r(omani) Q(uiritium) / pater et hieroceryx D(ei) S(olis) I(nvicti) M(ithrae) / archibucolus Dei Liberi / hierofanta Hecatae sa/cerdos Isidis percepto / taurobolio criobolioq(ue) / idibus Augustis D(ominis) N(ostris) / Valente Aug(usto) V et Valentinia/no Aug(usto) cons(ulibu)s feliciter / Vota Faventinus bis deni / suscipit orbis / Ut mactet repetens aurata / fronte bicornes.

13th August A.D. 376.

18. ROMA (Rome)

Ara marmorea; Cybele turrita in bigis sedens a leonibus vecta, dextra spicas et milium, sinistra tympanum gerit. Stat contra Attis puer pinui innixus, braccatus et mitratus, dextra mento subiecta, sinistra tympanum tenens, ad pedes a tergo adstat pedum. In pinu avis sedet.

In latere dextro incisae erant faces duae decussatae cum crotalis, in sinistro fistulae ac tibiae, in parte postica pinus visitur, de qua pendent crotala, syrinx, vasa variae formiae, inter ramos eius aviculae tres et gallus, adstant taurus et aries vittati et coronati.

CIL VI, 505; Dessau, 4143.

M(atris) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) et Attinis / L(ucius) Cornelius Scipio Oreitus / v(ir) c(larissimus) augur taurobolium / sive criobolium fecit / die IIII kal(endas) Mart(ias) / Tusco et Annulino co(n)s(ulibu)s.

In the 'Provinzialmuseum' at Bonn there is a fragment of an inscription concerning the same person. The text is as follows: - - Oreitu - - / - - bolium - - - / - - - m fecit.

See CIL VI, 30.781 *ad* CIL VI, 505; J. Klein, *Römisches Inschriftfragment aus Neapel* in *Bonner Jahrbücher* 88 (1889), 245-246; H. Lehner, *Die Antiken Steindenkmaler des Provinzialmuseums in Bonn*, Bonn 1918, no. 1404.

26th February A.D. 295.

19. ROMA (Rome)

Ara magna marmorea, in parte antica infra inscriptionem pileus

sacerdotalis sculptus est; in dextro latere tibiae; aliaque instrumenta symphoniaca cultus Mithraci; in sinistro faces.

CIL VI, 506; Dessau, 4144; Gordon, 308.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) et Attidi / L(ucius) Cornelius Scipio Orfitus v(ir) c(larissimus) / augur ex voto / taurobolio sive / criobolio facto.

A.D. c. 295.

20. ROMA (Rome)

CIL VI, 507; CIMRM no. 523.

D(ominis) N(ostris) Constantino et / Maximino Aug(ustis) III co(n)s(ulibu)s / C(aius) Magius Donatus / Severianus v(ir) c(larissimus) / pater sacrorum / Invicti Mithrae / Hierophantes / Liberi Patris et / Hecatarum [t]au/robolium feci(t) / XVII k[a]l(endas) Maias.

15th April A.D. 313.

21. ROMA (Rome)

CIL VI, 508; Dessau, 4146.

Potentiss(imis) Diis [M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(deae) et At]/ti Menotyranno .... / Serapias h(onesta) f(emina) sacr(ata) [Deum] / Matris et Proserpinae / taurobolium criobol(ium) caerno / perceptum per Fl. Antoni/um Eustochium sac(erdotem) Phryg(em) / max(imum) praesentib(us) et tradentib(us) / c(larissimis) v(iris) ex ampliss(imo) et sanctiss(imo) / coll(egio) XVvir(orum) s(acris) f(aciundis) die XIII kal(endas) / Maias Cerealibus D(ominis) N(ostris) / Constantino Max(imo) Aug(usto) V et / Licinio Iun(iore) Caes(are) co(n)s(ulibu)s.

19th April A.D. 319.

22. ROMA (Rome)

Ara grandis; in dextro latere Cybele turrita cum tympano a leonibus vehitur; prope pinus stat subtus taurus; in sinistro latere mitratus Attis bis cinctus, dextra fistulas et crotala, sinistra pedum tenens. Superius est tympanum; a tergo ipsius stat pinus et sub

ea aries in parte aversa sunt tedae transversae, lituus, patera, guttus sive urceus et simpuvium.

CIL VI, 509; IG XIV, 1018; CIMRM no. 524.

Μητέρι τῇ πάντων Ῥείῃ [θείῳ] τε γενέθλῳ
Ἄττει θ' ὑψίστῳ καὶ συν[έχο]ντι τὸ πᾶν
Τῷ πᾶσιν καιροῖς θεμε[ρωτέ]ρα πάντα φύοντι
Κριοβόλου τελετῆς ἠ[δ' ἔτι τ]αυροβόλου
Μυστιπόλος τελετῶν [ἱερῶν ἀ]νεθήκατο βωμὸν
Δῶρον Ἀπόλλωνος [τοὔνομ']ἔχων ἐπίκλην.

Petronius Apol[lod]orus v(ir) c(larissimus) / pontif(ex) maior X[Vvir s]acr(is) fac(iundis) / pater sacr(orum) Dei In[vic]ti Mithrae / taurobolio crio [boli]oq(ue) percepto / una cum Ruf(ina) Vo[lus]iana c(larissima) f(emina) con/iuge XVI kal(endas) Iu[lias] D(ominis) N(ostris) / Valentiniano et Val[en]te Aug(ustis) III co(n)s(ulibu)s.

16th June A.D. 370.

23. ROMA (Rome)

Ara marmorea grandis; in latere dextro pinus, e cuius truncis pendent tibiae et tiara, item aries, in latere sinistro pinus itidem, e cuius ramis pendent tympanum, fistula item taurus, a tergo item faces patera et vasa.

CIL VI, 510; Dessau, 4152; CIMRM no. 520.

Dis / Magnis / Matri Deum et Attidi Se/xtilius Agesilaus Aedesius / v(ir) c(larissimus) causarum non ignobi/lis Africani tribunalis ora/tor et in consistorio / principum, item magiste/r libellor(um) et cognition(um) / sacrarum magister epistu/lar(um) magister memoriae / vicarius praefector(um) per / Hispanias vice s(acra) c(ognoscens) pa/ter patrum Dei Solis Invi/cti Mithrae Hierofanta / Hecatar(um) Dei Liberi archi/bucolus taurobolio / criobolioq(ue) in aeter/num renatus aram sacra/vit D(ominis) N(ostris) Valen/te V et Valentiniano / Iun(iore) Aug(ustis) cons(ulibu)s idib(us) / Augustis.

13th Augustus A.D. 376.

24. ROMA (Rome)

Magna ara mutilata. In quattor angulis superioribus tauri caesi iacent; in sinistro latere aries ad pinum, in qua tympanum est; a dextris ad pinum taurus, ex qua pedum, fistulae, mitra pendent; a tergo faces lucentes transversae decussatim.

CIL VI, 511; CIMRM no. 522; CE, 1529.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) Idaeae et Attidi Menoturanno S(ancto) / nobilis in causis forma celsusq(ue) Sabinus / hic pater Invicti mystica victor habet / sermo duos - - - - reservans / consimiles aufert - - - - / et veneranda movet Cibeles Triodeia signa / augentur meritis simbola tauroboli / Ruf(ius) Caeoni(us) Cae(oni) Sabini f(ilius), v(ir) c(larissimus), p(ontifex) m(aior) hierof(anta) d(eae) Hecat(ae) aug(ur) / pub(licus) p(opuli) r(omani) Q(uiritium) pater sacror(um) Invicti Methrae(sic), tauroboliatus / M(atris) D(eum) M(agnae) Id(aeae) et Attidis Minoturani et aram IIII id(us) Mart(ias) / Gratiano V et Merobaude consulibus dedicabit.

Antiqua generose domo cui regia Vestae
Pontifici felix sacrato militat igne
Idem augur triplicis cultor venerande Dianae
Persidiciq(ue) Mithrae antistes Babilonie templi
Tauroboli(que) simul magni dux mistici sacri.

12th March A.D. 377.

25. ROMA (Rome)

Ara rudis ac male habita; superne arietes quinque, singuli scilicet in singulis angulis atque unus in fronte mactati iacent; in latere dextro stat aries sub pinu; a qua tympanum fistulae compactae et crotala dependent; in sinistro taurus stat sub altera pinu, a qua pedum et singulares fistulae duae suspensae sunt; a tergo sunt faces transversae.

CIL VI, 512; Dessau, 4154.

[M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) et Attidi Menotyranno Dis Magnis e]t / [t]u[t]atoribus suis / Ceionius Rufius Volu[si]/anus v(ir) c(larissimus) et inlustr[is] / ex vicario Asie et Ceio/ni Rufi

Volusiani v(iri) c(larissimi) / et inlustris ex prefecto [pre]/torio et ex prefecto ur[bi] / et Cecine Lolliane clar[issi]/me et inlustris femin[e] / Deae Isidis sacerdotis fi[lius] / iterato viginti annis exp[le]/tis taurobolii sui aram constitu[it] / et consecravit X kal(endas) Iun(ias) D(omino) N(ostro) Va[len]/tiniano Aug(usto) IIII et Neoterio c[o(n)s(ulibu)s].

23rd May A.D. 390

26. ROMA (Rome)

Cippus marmoreus, litterae male exaratae sunt, ut saepius distingui non possint.

CIL VI, 1675; CIMRM no. 516.

Kamenii / Alfenio Ceionio Iuliano / Kamenio v(iro) c(larissimo) q(uaestori) k(andidato) praetori tri/umf(ali) VIIviro epulonum mag(istro) / p(atri) s(a)c(rorum) Summi Invicti Mitrai ier(o)/fante Aecate arc(hi)b(ucolo) Dei Lib(eri) XV/viro s(acris) f(aciundis) tauroboliato D(eum) M(atris) / pontifici maiori consula/ri provinciae Numidiae / iustitiae eius provisioni/busq(ue) confotis omnibus / dioceseos / gentilis - - - - p (?) m (?) Restitutus cornicu/larius cum carticularis officii statuam / in domo sub aere posuerunt.

c. A.D. 380.

27. ROMA (Rome)

Basis marmorea.

CIL VI, 1778; Gordon, 339; CIMRM no. 420.

Agorii / Vettio Agorio Praetextato viro clarissimo / pontifici Vestae / pontifici Soli(s) / quindecemviro / auguri / tauroboliato / curiali / neocoro / hierofantae / patri sacrorum / quaestori / candidato / praetori urbano / conrectori Tus/ciae et Umbriae / consulari / Lusitaniae / proconsuli Achaiae / praefecto urbi / praefecto praet(orio) II / Italiae et Illyrici / consuli / designato / dedicata kal(endis) febr(uariis) / D(omino) N(ostro) Fl(avio) Valentiniano Aug(usto) III / et Eutropio cons(ulibu)s.

1st February A.D. 387.

28. ROMA (Rome)

Basis magna marmorea.

CIL VI, 1779; Dessau, 1259; CE, 111; detailed discussion in Lambrechts, *Grens*.

a) Details the offices both secular and religious of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, and is the same as No. 27. The religious offices of his wife are also listed—for these see No. 29.

d) Gives Paulina's eulogy of her husband. Verses 25-27 are as follows:

te teste cunctis imbuor mysteriis
tu Dindymenes Atteosqu[e] antistitem
teletis honoras taureis consors pius.

c. A.D. 385.

29. ROMA (Rome)

CIL VI, 1780.

Fabiae Aconiae Paulinae c(larissimae) f(eminae) / filiae Aconi[i] Catullini v(iri) c(larissimi) ex praef(ecto) et consule ord(inarii) / uxori Vetti Praetextati, v(iri) c(larissimi) praef(ecti) et consulis designati /

Sacratae apud Eleusinam Deo Iaccho Cereri et Corae / sacratae apud Laernam Deo Libero et Cereri et Corae / sacratae apud Aeginam Deabus, tauroboliatae, Isiacae / hierophantriae Deae Hecatae Graeco sacraneae Deae Cereris.

c. A.D. 370.

30. ROMA (Rome)

Cippus in cuius lateribus Cybele cum arbore pinei et Attis cum capitibus bovum.

CIL VI, 30.780; IGRR I, 93; IG XIV, 1020.

Μητρὶ θεῶν
Εἷς δεκαπέντε ἀνδρῶν, Φοίβου στεφανηφόρος ἱρεὺς
Κρήσκηνς ἠγαθεός τε Λεόντιος ἔνσοφοι ἄνδρες

Ὃς μὲν ἀπ' ἀντολίης, ὃς δ' ἄρ' ἀφ' ἑσπερίης
Ὄργια συνρέξαντε θεαῖ παμμήτορι Ῥείηι
Κριοβόλου τελετῆς καὶ ταυροβόλοιο φερίστης
Αἵμασι μυστιπόλοις βωμὸν ὑπερτίθεσαν.

Zippel, 518-519 proposes the change of αἵμασι into ἥμασι. ἥμασι μυστιπόλοις would then mean 'mystic object', i.e. the *vires*.

4th century A.D.

31. ROMA (Rome)

CIL VI, 30.966; IG XIV, 1019.

Σύνβολον εὐα|γέων τελετῶν | ἀνέθηκε Σαβῖνα | Ἄττει καὶ Ῥιείῃ βω|μὸν ἀγηράσιον | Λαμπαδίου θυγά|τηρ μεγαλήτο|ρος ὄργια Δηοῦς | καὶ φοβερὰς Ἑκά|της νύκτας ἐπι|σταμένη.

D(omino) N(ostro) Gratiano Aug(usto IV) / et Fl(avio) Merobaude co(n)s(ulibu)s.

A.D. 377.

32. ROMA (Rome)

Fragmenta basis magnae marmoreae.

CIL VI, 31.940; CIMRM no. 395 A.

Alfenio Ceio[nio I]uliano / Kamenio v(iro) c(larissimo) [quaest(ori) k(andidato) pra]etori / triumfali VI[Iviro epu]lonum / mag(istro) num(inis) patr[i sacr]orum / Summi Invic[ti M]ithrae Hiero/phantae Hec[ata]e archibucolo / Dei Liberi XV[vi]ro s(acris) f(aciundis) taurobo/liato Deum M[atri]s pontifici / maiori con[sul]ari Numidiae / iustitia eius e[t pro]visionibu[s] / confotis omnib(us) Dioce[seos] / s[ua]e / Ianuarianus [Nym]fidius eti - - / promoti cum [c]ollegis / officii / statua[m] in d[omo sua] / d[edica]verunt.

c. A.D. 380.

33. ROMA (Rome)

The following description is taken over from P. Fabre in *Melanges d'archéologie et d'histoire 40* (1923), 3-18.

L'autel a environ 0,75 m de large, 0,60 de profondeur, et, dans l'état où il nous est parvenu, 0,57 m de haut. Sur le côté droit est sculpté un arbre qu'à sa forme, à ses feuilles en aiguilles et à ses fruits, on le reconnaît aisément pour un pin.

A ses branches sont suspendus, à gauche une syringe à cinq tuyaux, à droite un tympanum, et peut-être un pedum. Au tronc de l'arbre est appuyée la double flûte; dans la partie inférieure était représenté un taureau, dont on peut encore voir la tête, le cou et la croupe.

Du côté gauche est répété le même arbre, aux branches duquel on voit, cette fois, d'un côté les cymbales, de l'autre le bonnet phrygiën, qui coiffe l'extrémité d'un rameau, et la syringe, ici à quatre tuyaux seulement. Au pied de l'arbre on distingue encore malgré plusieurs cassures de la pierre, la tête, le cou, et la croupe d'un bélier. Ces deux reliefs sont exécutés sans élégance, mais avec un certain soin. La face postérieure de l'autel est au contraire sculptée très sommairement et grossièrement.

Dans les champs triangulaires circonscrits par deux torches croisées en forme d'X, on reconnait, en haut, une patère, à gauche un pedum, à droite une aiguière. Tout autour se déroule une longue guirlande, évidemment une infula.

AE 1923, no. 29. This inscription has often been discussed. See e.g.: O. Marruchi in *NSA* 1922, 81-87; F. Cumont in *CRAI* 1923, 253; P. Fabre in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 40 (1923), 3-18 and in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* VI, 1 (1925), 858; H. J. Rose in *JHS* 43 (1923), 194-196 and 45 (1925), 180-183; A. Vogliani in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, VI, 1 (1925), 3-9; Hondius in *SEG* II, no. 518; M. J. Lagrange in *Revue Biblique* 36 (1927), 561-566; M. Guarducci, *Cristo e S. Pietro in un documento precostantiniano della Necropoli Vaticana*, Roma 1953, 66 and 69 note 167.

Ἔργα νόον πρῆξιν βιὸν ἔξοχον ἐσθλὰ πρόπαντα
Γά[μα]λίου πραπίδω[ν] τοῦτο φέρω τὸ θῦμα
Ὃς Δ[ηοῦ]ς παλίνορσον ἐπ' Εὐρυβίην πάλι ταῦρον
Ἤγαγε καὶ κρειὸν σύμβολον εὐτυχίης.
Ὀκτὼ γὰρ λυκάβαντος ἐπ' εἴκοσιν ἠρεμέοντας
Νύκτα διασκεδάσας αὖθις ἔθηκε φάος·
.....ηκυ.....[ν]όος ἡμῶν.

Fabre proposes as translation: „Je porte comme offrande les oeuvres, la pensée, l'action, la vie supérieure, toutes les vertus de l'âme de Gamalias, qui au Tout-Puissant Ressuscité (de Deo), a deux fois amené le taureau et le bélier, gage du bonheur. Il a, en effet, dispersé la nuit, et, pour vingt années de paix, rétabli la lumière du salut".

Rose suggests: „I present in this offering the works, thought, action, excellence of life, and all the goodness of wise Ga . . . .lios; for he dedicated and brought once more into the mighty One, that rose again the bull and the ram, that is the symbol of fair hap.

Yea, he scattered the darkness that had endured eight-and-twenty barren years, and made the light of salvation the shine again".

Lagrange, who opposed the translation of παλίνορσον by 'rise again' gives the following version:

„Les oeuvres, la pensée, la conduite, la vie supérieure, tout ce qu'il y a de bien dans l'âme de Gamalias, je (it is the altar that is speaking) l'offre en sacrifice, lui qui, avancé en âge, a ajouté de nouveau un fort taureau d'une seconde offrande et un bélier, symbole de bonheur. Car ayant dissipé la nuit, 8 années après vingt, à ne rien faire, il a une fois de plus fait briller la lumière."

4th century A.D. ?

34. ROMA (Rome)

AE 1953, no. 238; Ghetti - Ferrua - Josi - Kirschbaum, *Esplorazioni sotto la confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano eseguite negli anni 1940-1949*, Citta del Vaticano, 1951, 14-15.

Diis Magnis / M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(deae) et / Attidi Sancto Menotyranno / Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus / Kamenius v(ir) c(larissimus) VIIvir epul(onum)/ pater et hieroceryx sacr(orum) S(ummi) I(nvicti) / Mithrae hierofanta Haecatae / arch(i)bucolus Dei Liberi / aram taurobolio criobolio/que percepto dicabit / die XIIII kal(endas) Aug(ustas) D(omino) N(ostro) Gratiano / Aug(usto) III et Equitio cons(ulibu)s.

19th July A.D. 374.

35. OSTIA

Duo fragmenta tabulae marmoreae.

CIL XIV, 40 and 4301; AE 1920, no. 92; *NSA* (1919), 74.

Taurob[olium factum M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(deae) pro salute] / Im[p(eratoris) Caes(aris)] / M(arci) Aurel[i Antonini Aug(usti) et] / L(uci) Aureli [Commodi Caes(aris) et] / Faustina [Aug(ustae) et cetero]/rum libe[rorum eorum, senatui, XVvir(is) s(acris) f(aciundis) equest(ri)] / ordin(i) ex[ercitui p(opuli) r(omani)] / navigan[tibus] . . . ro . . . . . / decurio[nibus] coloni[ae Ostiensium] / canno[phoris] dendroph[oris] / nat . . . . . atis taurob . . . . . / in [campo Matr]is Deum col[oniae Ostiensium] / - - - - - eorum ea[rumq-(ue) - - -

A.D. 169-175.

On the back of this stone is the following inscription:

36. OSTIA

Duo fragmenta eiusdem tabulae marmoreae.

CIL XIV, 41 and 4302; Dessau, 4135.

Crinobolium (sic) factum [Matri]/Deum Magn(ae) Ideae pr[o salute]/ Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L. A[eli Aureli] / C[ommodi Augusti] / [to]tiusq(ue) dom[us divinae] / - - - - rniam / - - - - - - - ux vl - - / [Combari]sio Hes[perione - -] / [decurionum decret]o publ[ice?]

c. A.D. 169-175.

37. OSTIA

Ara marmorea.

CIL XIV, 39; Dessau, 4155; H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie*, Lund 1952, no. B 303.

Aemilia / Serapias / taurobolium fecit / et aram taurobolatam / posuit / per sacerdotes / Valerio Pancarpo / idib(us) Mais Anullino II / et Frontone co(n)s(ulibus).

15th May A.D. 199.

38. OSTIA

CIL XIV, 42; Dessau, 526; 4141; text taken from a photo.

Tau[robolium factum Matri Deum] / Mag[nae Ideae pro salute et victoria] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(aii) V[ibi Treboniani Galli Pii] / Fel(icis) Aug(usti) et [Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) C(aii) Vibi Afini Galli] / Veldum[niani Vol]usiani P[ii Fel(icis)] / Aug(usti) tot[iu]s-q(ue) domus divin(ae) eor(um) [et] / [senatus XV] vir(orum) s(acris) f(aciundis) equestr(is) ordin(is) [exercituum navalium] navigantium / s . . . .

A.D. 251-253.

39. OSTIA

Fragmentum tabulae marmoreae.

CIL XIV, 43.

Taurobolium factum / Matr(i) D(eum) Magn(ae) Idaeae pro / salut(e) et redit(u) et victor(ia) imp(eratoris).

40. OSTIA

Tabulae marmoreae cr. m. 0,03 fragmenta ut videtur quattuor.

CIL XIV, 4303; text taken from a photo.

. . . . . oboliu[m factum] / [M(atri) D(eum)] M(agnae) I(deae) pro salu[te et] / [r]edit(u) et victo[ria] / - - - - -. / Pii Felic(is) Aug(usti) et - - - / - - - - - Aug(usti) nostri tot[iusque] / domus divinae sinatui (sic) XV[viris] / sac(ris) fac(iundis) equestri ordin[i] / erecitui (sic) p(opuli) r(omani) matri[b(us) ?

A.D. 222-235.

41. OSTIA

Tabula marmorea, quae a tribus partibus fracta est, a sinistra integra esse videtur.

CIL XIV, 4304.

- - - / - - - rm Clodio fe - - - / M(atris) M(agnae) D(eum) col(oniae)

Ost(iensium) et Iu - - - - / eadem sacerdo[te XV]/viral(i) astante lus - - / Aureliu Bas - - /

42. OSTIA

Fragmentum tabulae marmoreae utrumque inscriptae (m. 0,145 × m. 0,095).

CIL XIV, 4305.

a / [pr]o sal[ute] / - - - - - /
b / - - ute - - - / - - - nt - - - - /

43. OSTIA

Tabula marmorea.

CIL XIV, 4306.

- - [pro sal]ute et - - - / - - - [r]edit[u] - -

44. OSTIA

Base of a statue.

AE 1945, no. 55; *Epigraphica* 3 (1941), 103-109.

Volusianus v(ir) c(larissimus) ex pra/efectis tauroboliatus d(edit) d(edicavit).

c. A.D. 370.

45. OSTIA

AE 1948, no. 25; *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Memorie VI, 6 (1946), 197.

Marca/rianus / v(ir) c(larissimus) taur(oboliatus) / M(atri) D(eum) d(edicavit).

46. LAVINIUM (Pratica)

AE 1895, no. 120; EE IX, no. 587; *Bullet. Comun. di Roma* (1895), 146.

- - - ius Maxi - - / [sacerdos M(atris)] D(eum) M(agnae) I(deae) L(aurentium) L(avinatium) et - - - / [sac]erdotia taurob[olium] - / - it V IIII III - - / - bres Aspro iteru[m et] / Aspro co(n)s(ulibus).

A.D. 212.

47. ANTIUM (Porto d'Anzio)

EE VIII, 648; CE, 654.

Inter avos proavosque tuos sanctumque parentem/
virtutum meritis et honoribus emicuisti/
Ornamentum ingens generis magnique senatus/
sed raptus propere liquisti, sancte Kameni/
Aeternos fletus obiens iuvenalibus annis/
Te dulcis coniunx lacrimis noctesque diesque/
Cum parvis deflet natis, solacia vitae/
Amisisse dolens casto viduata cubili/
Quae tamen extremum munus; solacia luctus/
Omnibus obsequiis ornat decoratque sepulchrum/
Alfenio Ceionio Iuliano Kamenio v(iro) c(larissimo) quaestori candidato / pretori triumfali, VIIviro epulonum, patri sacrorum Summi / Invicti Mitre, hierofante Aecatae, arcibucolo Dei Liberi, XVviro / s(acris) f(aciundis) tauroboliato Deum Matris, pontifici maiori, consulari / Numidiae et vicario Africae, qui vixit annos XLII, m(enses) VI, d(ies) XIII / rec(essit) II nonas septemb(res), D(omino) N(ostro) Archadio et Fl(avio) Bautone v(iris) c(larissimis) cons(ulibu)s.

4th September A.D. 385.

48. GABII (Castiglione)

CIL XIV, 2790; Dessau, 4118.

Matri Deum / Magnae Ideae / Pompeius Rusonianus / co(n)s(ularis) XVvir sacris / faciundis / taurobolium movit.

c. A.D. 204.

Pompeius Rusonianus was *magister* of the college of *XVviri* in 204 (cf. *Acta ludorum,* EE VIII, 282).

49. FORMIAE (Formia)

CIL X, 6075.

Imp(eratore) Gordiano II / Aug(usto) et Pompeiano co(n)-

s(ulibus) / Helvia Stephanis / sacerdos M(atris) M(agnae) I(deae) / taurobolium.

A.D. 241.

Regio I

50. PUTEOLI (Pozzuoli)

CIL X, 1596.

L(ucio) Iulio Ur[so Serviano] / co(n)s(ule) III non(is) O[ct(obribus)] / ecitium taurobolium / Veneris Caelestae et Panteliu[m ?] / Herennia Fortunata inperio deae / per Ti(tum) Claudium Felicem sacerd(otem) / iterata est.

7th October A.D. 134.

51. RUFRAE (near Presenzano)

CIL X, 4829.

Matri Deum Optimae Maxim(ae) / sacra taurobol[i] / l(ibens) m(erito) f(ecit) Sabidia T(iti) f(ilia) Cornelia.

2nd century A.D.

Regio IV

52. TEATE MARRUCINORUM (Chieti)

CIL IX, 3014; Dessau, 4137.

Pro salute / Imp(eratoris) Maxi[imin]i Aug(usti) et / M[aximi] Caes(aris) / taurobolium mo/vit Petronius Ma/rcellus sacerd(os) / de suo.

A.D. 235-238.

53. TEATE MARRUCINORUM (Chieti)

CIL IX 3015; Dessau, 4138.

Criobolium et / aemobolium movit / de suo Petronius Mar/cellus sacerdos VI kal(endas) / dec(embres) IIIIviris Primo et Iusto.

26th November A.D. 235.

Regio II

54. BENEVENTUM (Benevento)

CIL IX, 1538; Duthoy, *Minerva.*

Attini sacrum / et Minervae Berecint(iae) / Concordia col(oniae) lib(erta) Ianuari[a] / c[y]mbal(istra) [l]oco secundo ob / criobolium factum M(atri) De(um) / Ma(gnae) tradentib(us) Septimio / Primitivo augure et sac(erdotibus) / Servilia Varia et Terentia / Elisviana sacerd(ote) XVvir(ali) / praeeunte Mamio Secundo / haec iussu Matris Deum / in ara taurobolica duo/dena cum vitula / crem(ata or - -avit ?) / sub die V idus Aprilis / Modesto II et Probo co(n)s(ulibus).

9th April A.D. 228.

55. BENEVENTUM (Benevento)

In latere dextro patera.

CIL IX, 1539.

Attini sacr(um) / et Minervae / Paracentiae / Mummeia C(aii) f(ilia) / Atticilla sacer/dos ob taurobo/lium.

c. A.D. 228.

56. BENEVENTUM (Benevento)

CIL IX, 1540.

Attini sacr(um) et Miner/vae Parachintiae / L(ucius) Sontius Pineius Iustia/nus eq(uitis) r(omani) adne(pos) vir princi/palis duumvir et munera/rius natalis coloniae om/nibus honoribus perfunct(us) / et sacerdos Matri Deum M(agnae) I(deae) / in primordio suo taurobo/lium a se factum traden/te simul Cosinia Celsina / consacerdote sua / praeeunte Flavio Libe/rali har(uspice) publ(ico) primario.

c. A.D. 228.

57. BENEVENTUM (Benevento)

CIL IX, 1541.

Attini sacrum / et Minervae / Paracentiae / Terentia Flaviana /

sacerdos secundo loco XV/viralis ob taur(obolium) tra/d[it]u(m) a Servilia / Varia sac(erdote) prima.

c. A.D. 228.

58. BENEVENTUM (Benevento)

CIL IX, 1542.

Attini sac(rum) / et Minervae / Paracentiae / Trebulana Ius/tina [t]ym[p]anis/tr(a) o[b taur]ibol(ium) / tr[aditu]m a Ser/vi[l]ia [Va]ria sa[c(erdote)] / [prima] XI k(alendas) Aug(ustas).

22nd July c. A.D. 228.

59. BRUNDISIUM (Brindisi)

CIL IX, 6099.

L(ucius) Pacilius taur(oboliatus) / sac(erdos) Matr(is) Magn(ae) et / Suriae Deae et sac/ror(um) Isidis v(ixit) a(nnos) LXV / et L(ucius) Publilius Auctus / pater eius v(ixit) a(nnos) LXX et / Publilia L. l(iberta) Nice mater / eius v(ixit) a(nnos) C h(ic) s(iti) s(unt).

AFRICA PROCONSVLARIS

Byzacena

60. MACTAR (Maktar)

Basis alta m. 1,3; lata 0,37.

CIL VIII, 23.400; *AE* 1892, no. 18; 1898, no. 46; *BCTH* (1891), 529-534; (1896), 424, no. 177. Illustrated in R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, Paris 1914[4], Pl. 18.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aure/li Probi Pii Felicis Aug(usti) / totiusque divinae domus / Q(uintus) Arellius Optatianus / eq(ues) r(omanus) sacerdos perfec/tis ritae sacris cer/norum crioboli et tau/roboli suffragio ordi/nis col(oniae) suae Mactaritan(ae) / comprobatus antistes sum/tibus suis tradentibus / Rannio Salvio eq(uite) r(omano) pon/tifice et Claudio Fausto / sacerdotibus una

cum / universis dendroforis / et sacratis utriusq(ue) sexus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo).

A.D. 276-284.

61. MACTAR (Maktar)

Basis alta m. 1,3; lata m. 0,4.

CIL VIII, 23.401; Dessau, 4142; AE 1897, no. 121; *MSAF* (1897), 126.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / pro salute Imp(eratorum) Caes(arum) C. Valeri Diocle[tia]ni Pii Fel(icis) / Aug(usti) et M. Aureli Valeri M[axi/miani] ‹Pii› Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) totiusq(ue) / divinae domus eorum / Q(uintus) Minthonius Fortuna/tus sacerdos perfectis / ritae sacris cernorum / crioboli et tauroboli / suffragio ordinis col(oniae) / suae Mact(aritanae) comprobatus / antistes sumtibus su/is tradente Claudio Bo/no sacerdote una cum / universis dendroforiis (sic) et sacratis / utriusque sexus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo).

A.D. 285-293.

62. MACTAR (Maktar)

AE 1955, no. 49; *BCTH* (1951-52), 196.

Matris to[tiusque divi]/nae domus [eorum] / P(ublius) Valeri[us - -] / - tianus [sacerdos] / perfectis rit[e sacris cer/norum] et cri[oboli et tau/roboli - - -

63. MACTAR (Maktar)

ILAfr., no. 201; *BCTH* (1919), CCXXXV.

n - - - - - [dia? ?]/nae li[bero patri? ? ?] / sacrum i / criobo[li].

The supplements that have been proposed do not really seem convincing.

NVMIDIA

64. CARTHAGO (Carthage)

In margine tabulae marmoreae crassae m. 0,07 quae statuam sustinuisse videtur litteris m. 0,015.

CIL VIII, 24.536; ILTun., 960.

[sa]c(erdos?) tauroboliatus d(e)d(icavit).

65. CARTHAGO (Carthage)

AE 1917, 18, no. 17, ILAfr., 356.

Mat[ri Deum Magnae Idaeae Aug(ustae) sac(rum)] / [p]ro salute Imp(eratorum) Caesarum P. L[icini Valeriani] / [et P. Licini Gallieni Piorum Felicium Aug(ustorum)] / et P. Corneli Licin[i Nobilissimi Caesaris et] / Cornelia[e Saloninae Sanctissimae Augustae / et] totiu[s divinae domus eorum . . . . . .].

A. Merlin, *Dédicace à la mère des Dieux trouvée à Carthage* in *BCTH* (1917), 85-93, who considers the following text also belongs to this inscription. The reasons for our not sharing this view may be found in Duthoy, *Note.*

A.D. 255-259

66. CARTHAGO (Carthage)

AE 1917-18, no. 17; ILAfr., no. 356; ILTun., no. 1048; A. Merlin, *Dédicace à la mère des Dieux trouvée à Carthage* in *BCTH* (1917), 85-93; Ch. Saumagne in *BCTH* (1924), 188.

-------- dl ---/------em public ----/-------- entibus --------/ ----- v(iro) c(larissimo) --------/-----ierof[a]n-[to----/---------] ilib ----/--- ierof(a)nd ---/--- felici co-race-/--rtemio taurobolato--/--------

67. CARTHAGO (Carthage)

ILAfr., no. 355; *BCTH* (1919), CCXXXIV; *CRAI* (1921), 334.

Matri Deum Mag(nae) Idaeae sac(rum) / pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinac(is) / Aug(usti) Arabici Adiab(enici) Parthic(i) Max(imi) p(atris) p(atriae) et / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Antonini Aug(usti) Pii Felicis Princi/pis i[uven]tutis et [P. Septimi Getae Nobilissimi Caes(aris)/--------/ et Iuliae] Aug(ustae) Matris Aug(ustorum) [et castrorum totiusq]ue / divinae domus eorum . . . / - 5 lines - / Iulio Aspro procons(ule) c(larissimo) v(iro) Claudio Iuliano leg(ato) pro/praet(ore) c(larissimo) v(iro) t--

A.D. 200-205 (I. Asper was proconsul of Africa either in 200-201 or 204-205).

68. UTICA

Bloc de beau calcaire, haut de 1,275 m, base 0,2 m; largeur 0,5 à 0,595 m; profondeur 0,36 à 0,43; face droite: patère, oenochoe; face gauche: tête de bélier parée d'infulae.

AE 1961, no. 201; J. Le Gall, *Inscription criobolique découverte à Utique* in *Karthago* 9 (1958), 119-127 (among other things he suggests that the missing lines included the name of the emperor Maximinus).

Matri Magnae Idaeae sacr(um) / ..... 4 lines ..... / Q. Latinius Victor et Q. Latini/us Egregius fil(ius) eius dendrofori / cerno et criobolio de suo acceptis / aram pecunia sua fecerunt et consa/craverunt tradente C. Raecio Aprile et / Pompeia Satbia Fortunata eius sacer/dotibus M(atris) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) col(oniae) Utik(ae) astantibus / dendroforis et sacratis ministrante / C. Rombio Felice dendroforo apparatore / dedicata X kal(endas) Iulias.

22nd June A.D. 235-238?

69. THIBILIS (Announa)

Ara alta m. 0,72; lata 0,41.

CIL VIII, 5524.

Terrae matr[i] / Aerecurae Ma/tri Deum Mag/nae Ideae / Popilia M. fil(ia) / Maxima tauro/bolium aram / posuit movit / fecit.

2nd century, A.D.

70. THIBILIS (Announa)

Ara alta m. 0,55; lata m. 0,45.

AE 1895, no. 81; *Ch. Vars* in *Recueil des notices et mémoires de la société archéologique du département de Constantine*, 28 (1893), 652-655.

Terrae matr[i] / Eraecurae M[a]/tri Magnae Id[e]/ae P. Sextilius / C. fil(ius) Quir(ina tribu) Ho/noratus tauripolium et / creobolium / movit et fecit / aramque po/[suit].

2nd century A.D.

71. MILEV (Mila)

Ara alta m. 0,55; lata 0,35.

CIL, VIII, 8203 = 19.981; Dessau, 4136.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(deae) Sanctae / sacrum factum / pro salute / [I]mp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Se/[veri Alexandri] Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) / [et Iuliae Avitae Mamaeae / Aug(ustae)] et domus eor(um) divinae / Qu[inti] Claudii Basilicus / Nap (? ? ?) et Mnesius criobo[li]/um fecerunt et ipsi susc[e]/perunt per C(aium) Aemilium Satur/ninum sacerdotem ex va/ticinatione archigall[i]./ L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

A.D. 222-235.

72. DIANA VETERANORUM (Zana)

AE 1931, no. 63; St. Gsell in *CRAI* (1931), 251-269.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) A(ugustae) s(acrum) / pro salute . . . . . / . . . . Horte[n]/sia Fortunata sacerd[os] / tauribolium et criobo[l]/ium motum sancit manda/nte M. Tullio Pudente p[a]/tre.

A.D. 218-222 or 276-282 (Gsell).

73. TIPASA (Tifesh)

Autel écorné aux deux angles inférieurs.

ILAlg., I, 1983; St. Gsell in *BCTH* (1896), 179, no. 60.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) / Sanctissimae / pro salute et / incolumitate D(omini) N(ostri) / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [M. Aureli Severi / Alexandri] Pii Fel(icis) / Aug(usti) et [Iuliae Mamaeae] / Aug(ustae) t(otius)q(ue) d(omus) d(ivinae) eorum / P. Caecilius Felix / [sa]c(erdos) ex ordine ponit crio/[bol]ium et tauribo/[lium] . . . didit.

A.D. 222-235.

HISPANIA

BAETICA

74. CORDUBA (Cordova)

Now in the Archaeological Museum in Cordova. White marble, m. 0,85 high; m. 0,44 wide; m. 0,20 thick. On the left side a ram's head; on the right side *patera* and *praefericulum*.

CIL II, 5521; Dessau, 4139; EE, III, 15; F. Fita in *Museo Español de Antigüedades* 4 (1875), 635 ss; Garcia y Bellido, 47-48, no. 3, whose description has been taken over.

Ex iussu Matris Deum / pro salute imperii / tauribolium fecit Publicius / Valerius Fortunatus Thalamas / suscepit crionis Porcia Bassenia / sacerdote Aurelio Stephano / dedicata VIII Kal(endas) April(es) / Pio et Proculo co(n)s(ulibus).

25th March A.D. 238.

Mommsen in CIL: *crionis* = *crionisbolium*.

75. CORDUBA (Cordova)

Altar with *focus* and two *cornua*. On the right side the head of a sheep, almost in silhouette; on the left *patera ansata*. Height of the altar m. 0,93; base 0,46 × 0,36; remainder 0,37 × 0,3. In the Archaeological Museum in Cordova.

Garcia y Bellido, 46-47, no. 1, Pl. V; J. de la Torre in *Boletin de Sociedad Cordobesa de Arqueologia excavaciones* 4 (1921), 6 ss; L. Wickert, 830.

Pro salute / Imp(eratoris) Domini N(ostri) [M. Aureli / Severi Alexandri] Pii Felicis / Aug(usti) / taurobolium fecit Publicius / Fortunatus Talamas suscepit / chrionis Coelia Ianuaria / adstante Ulpio Heliade sacerdo[te]. / Aram sacris suis d(e)d(icaverunt) / Maximo et Urbano co(n)s(ulibus).

A.D. 234.

76. CORDUBA (Cordova)

García y Bellido, 47, no. 2; same bibliography as the preceding inscription. Present where-abouts unknown.

- - Clodis - - / adstante Ul[pio / Heliade] sacerdote. Ar[am] / sacris suis d(e)d(icaverunt) Maximo et Urbano co(n)s(ulibus).

A.D. 234.

LUSITANIA

77. OSSONOBA (Faro)

Altar, height m. 0,45, width 0,25.

Wickert, 834; García y Bellido, 51-52, no. 9.

M(agnae) D[e]u[m] Matri / L. Agrius / Vo[c]a[tus] / sacerd(o)s crinobo[lium f(ecit)].

Instead of *Vocatus* perhaps *Volamus* (García y Bellido).

78. PAX IULIA (Beja)

AE 1956, no. 255; S. Lambrino, *Les divinités orientales en Lusitanie et le sanctuaire de Panoias* in *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'institut français au Portugal* 17 (1953), 93-129, especially 101-102; García y Bellido, 50-51, no. 7; L. de Vasconcelos, *A mâi dos deuses* in *Broteria* 20 (1953), 255 with ill.; Idem in *Arq. Port* 30 (1938), 123.

M(atri) D(eum) s(acrum) / duo Irinaei, pater et / fil(ius), criobolati / natali suo, sacer(dotibus) / Lucio Antist(io) Avito / G(aio) Antisti(o) Felicis/simo.

79. EMERITA AUGUSTA (Merida)

CIL II, 5260; Dessau, 4156; EE, III, 2; García y Bellido, 48-49, no. 4; A. Fernandez Guerra in *Museo Español de Antigüedades* 4 (1875), 636; Barrantes, *Barros emeritenses*, Madrid 1880, 98.

M(atri) D(eum) s(acrum) / Val(eria) Avita / aram tauroboli / sui natalici red/diti d(edit) d(edicavit) sacerdo/te Doccyrico Vale/riano arc(h)igallo / Publicio Mystico.

Litteris elegantibus, saeculi secundi exeuntis.

GALLIA

ALPES MARITIMAE

80. VINTIUM (Vence)

CIL XII, 1.

Idaeae Matri / Valeria Mar/ciana Vale/ria Carmo/syne et Cassi/us Paternus / sacerdos tau/ripolium suo su/ptu celebraverunt.

Suptu instead of *sumptu*.

GALLIA NARBONENSIS

81. COLONIA IULIA AUGUSTA APOLLINARIS REIORUM (Riez)

Ara marmorea cubo similis, alta m. 1,58, longa 1, lata 0,75 latere dextro et sinistro caput bovis vittatum, nux pinea, caput arietis.

CIL XII, 357.

Matri Deum / Magnae Q - - Idaeae / L(ucius) Decimus Pacatus / et Coelia Secundina / eius ob sacrum / tauropo[l]i.

2nd century A.D.

82. COLONIA IULIA AUGUSTA APOLLINARIS REIORUM (Riez)

Ara marmorea litteris bonis.

CIL XII, 358.

Matri / Deum ob / sacrum / v(otum) s(olvit) / M(arcus) Iul(ius) / Hyacinthus / IIIIIIvir aug(ustalis) / C(oloniae) I(uliae) Aug(ustae) A(pollinaris). / L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

2nd century A.D.

83. DEA AUGUSTA VOCONTIORUM (Die)

CIL XII, 1567, Dessau, 4140.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) / sacr(um) trib(us) taur(is) fecer(unt) / cum suis hostis et apparam(entis) / omnib(us) L(ucius) Dagid(ius) Marius pon/tif(ex) perpet(uus) civit(atis) Valent(iae) / et Verullia Martina et / Verullia Maria fil(ia) eorum / pro salute Imp(eratorum) et Caes(arum) / Philipporum Aug(ustorum) et Otaci/liae Severae Aug(ustae) Matris / Caes(arum) et castror(um) praeeun/tibus sacerdotibus Iuni[o] / Tito XVvir(ali) Arausens(i) et / Castricio Zosimione ci/vitat(is) Albens(is) et Blattio / Paterno civitatis Voc(ontiorum) / et Fabricio Orfito Liber(i) / Patris et ceteris adsis/tentibus sacerdotibus / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(eritis) loco vires con/ditae die prid(ie) kal(endas) Oct(obres) / Imp(eratore) Philippo Aug(usto) et Titi/ano co(n)s(ulibus).

30th September A.D. 245.

84. DEA AUGUSTA VOCONTIORUM (Die)

Caput bovis et caput arietis vittatum.

CIL XII, 1568.

[Pro] sal(ute) imp(erii) / [taurobolium f]ec(it) At[ti]us Att[iani f(ilius)] / de suo.

85. DEA AUGUSTA VOCONTIORUM (Die)

Ara; in medio caput bovis vittatum et caput arietis, secespita aliaque instrumenta taurobolica (secespita; culter, lituus, pedum, tympanon et nescio quae alia lanci ac cochleari non absimilia).

CIL XII, 1569, Esperandieu, *Recueil*, I, no. 313.

D(eum) M(atri) / pro sal(ute) imper(ii) taur(obolium) fec(it) T. Hel(ius) Mar/cellin(us) et Val(eria) Decumilla ex voto / sacerd(ote) Attio Attiani fil(io).

86. DEA AUGUSTA VOCONTIORUM (Die)

Tête de taureau (parée de infulae) et tête de bélier; au dessous devaient se trouver les instruments habituels du sacrifice.

AE 1889, no. 81; Esperandieu, *Recueil*, I, no. 318; *Revue épigraphique du Midi de la France* (1888), 389.

Pro salute L. Sept(imi) Severi Pii P[ertinacis Aug(usti)] et M. Au[reli] / Antonini Aug(usti) [et P. Sept(imi) Getae Caesaris] et Iul[i]/ae Aug(ustae) taurobol(ium) fec(it) r(es) p(ublica) Voc(ontiorum) Fl(avio) Talusio ---------/---------- Appiano I---V---
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A.D. 198-209.

87. ARAUSIO (Orange)

Ara.

CIL XII, 1222.

Num(inibus) Aug(ustorum) / Matri Deum / pro salut(e) Imp(eratoris) / M(arci) Aur(eli) Commo/di Antonini Pii / Felicis / tauropolium / fecerunt / Sex(tus) Publicius / ..... anus / .....iana.

A.D. 185-193.

88. VASIO (Vaison)

CIL XII, 1311.

Traditur: Matri Deorum / Magnanimae aen / domuei mnatauro/ poeium morio poli / um fecerunt Aul / Pompeius Avitian / et Claudia Firmin / praeeunte Aul/tio Phronimo sacerd.

Fuit fere: Matri Deum / Magna[e] I[d]aeae / [pro salute ?] / domu[s d]i[vi]na[e] tauro/po[l]ium et [c]riopoli/um fecerunt Aul(us) / Pompeius Avitian(us) / et Claudia Firmin(a) / praeeunte Aul(io) / ----tio Phronimo sacerd(ote).

89. ALBA HELVIORUM (Le Pouzin)

Tête de taureau (*Gallia*).

AE 1952, no. 72; *Gallia* 8 (1950), 133 with illustration.

Matri M[a/g]nae Ida[eae / taur]oboliu[m / fec(it)] L. Trofim(us).

L. Richard kindly sent me his reading of this inscription before it appeared in *REA* 69 (1967), 255-265:

Matri D[eum Mag]/nae Ida[eae, tau]/roboliu[m fec(it) d(e) s(uo)] /M(arcus) Trofim[ius].

90. INTER NEMAUSUM ET SEXTANTIUM (Caveirac)

AE 1910, no. 217; AE 1924, no. 26; IL Gaul. Narb. no. 518; F. Masauric, *Les musées archéologiques de Nimes*, 1904, 55; *REA* 12 (1910), 304; *BCTH* (1923), 101-102.

Matri Deum Mag[nae] / [Idaeae Phrygi]ae Palatinae / [taurobolia] et criobolia / [pro salute D(ominorum) N(ostrorum) Imp(eratorum)] Caes(arum) [M(arci) Iuli / Philippi Pii] Fel(icis) Aug(usti) [et M(arci) Iuli / Philippi Nobilissimi Caes(aris)] Aug(usti) [F(elicis)? e]t Ota/[ciliae Severae Aug(ustae)] XVviris / ----- nemaus / ---------omni/ ---------- sevir(is) aug(ustalibus) / --------III / kal-(endas) / -------- prae/[euntibus) sacerdotibus Au]relio / --- [et] ---------[Imp] / [Philippo Aug(usto) et Ti]tiano cons(ulibus).

A.D. 245.

91. COLONIA VALENTIA (Valence)

Ara; in medio bucranium vittatum; in parte sinistra nux pinea inter praefericulum, pateram ansatam, libum, pileum Phrygium; in parte dextra caput arietis inter aspersorium et pedum; in parte aversa arbor (pinus).

CIL XII, 1744.

M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) taurobol(ium) / dendrophor(i) Val(entini) / sua p(ecunia) f(ecerunt).

92. COLONIA VALENTIA (Valence)

Ara.

CIL XII, 1745.

Pro salute aug(ustorum) / proque d(omo) d(ivina) / taurobolium et c[ri]/obolium M(atri) D(eum) M(agnae) I(daeae) fecer(unt) / C(aius) Valerius Ur(ba ?/n]us sacerdos C(aius) [Fl(avius) Re/stit]utus [tibicen ?].

CIL XII, 1745 (Hirschfeld): Taurobolium factum videtur esse pro salute Severi, Antonini, Getae eorumque domus divinae.

c. A.D. 198-209.

93. TEGNA (Tain)

In medio bucranium; in latere sinistro caput arietis mutilum, in latere dextro secespita mutila.

CIL XII, 1782; Dessau, 4130.

..... 1 line . / ---- domusq(ue) divi/nae Colon(iae) Copiae Claud(iae) Aug(ustae) Lug(dunensium) / taurobolium fecit Q(uintus) Aquius Antonia/nus pontif(ex) perpetuus / ex vaticinatione Pusoni Iuliani archi/galli inchoatum XII Kal(endas) Mai(as) consum/matum VIIII Kal(endas) Mai(as) L(ucio) Eggio Marullo / Cn(aio) Papirio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) praeeunte Aelio / C[astren]s[e] sacerdote, tibicine Albio / Verino.

A.D. 20th-23rd April 184.

94. COLONIA IULIA PATERNA CLAUDIA NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne)

CIL XII, 4321; Dessau, 4119.

Matri / Deum / taurobolium indictum / iussu ipsius ex stipe conlata / celebrarunt publice Narbon(enses).

95. COLONIA IULIA PATERNA CLAUDIA NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne)

In medio caput arietis et caput bovis.

CIL XII, 4322.

Matri Deum / taurobolium / quod fecit Axia / C. f(ilia) Paulina sacerd(ote) / Q. Paquio Chresto.

96. COLONIA IULIA PATERNA CLAUDIA NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne)

In medio caput arietis et caput bovis.

CIL XII, 4323; Dessau, 4120.

Imperio D(eum) M(atris) tauro/polium provinciae / Narbonensis / factum per C(aium) Batonium / Primum flaminem aug(ustalem) / pro salute Dominorum / Imp(eratorum) L(uci) Septimi Severi / Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Ara/bici Adiabenici Parthi/ci Maximi et M(arci) Aureli / Ant(onini) Aug(usti) ------

A.D. 198-209.

97. COLONIA IULIA PATERNA CLAUDIA NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne)

Autel mutilé; pierre commune. Tête de taureau et tête de bélier commémoratives d'un taurobole; au dessus, entre deux gâteaux, le bonnet pontifical. L'inscription difficilement restituable, contient peut-être aux deux dernières lignes, les noms des deux consuls Nummius Albinus et Fulvius Maximus, de l'année 263 (Espérandieu).

CIL XII, 4324; Espérandieu, *Recueil*, I, 568.

Lafont: Iunia Babin / I Iuno don de XII / Numio Balbino / Fulvio Aveilio cos.

Editor CIL: ------- bin --/ --- L. Iunio ? --- on -- ex --- / ------ numio? Bab -- C. Fu -- / - vio--- ma -- co ------ /.

Allmer: -- I. Bin / k iunic ---- omp XII / Numio ei - bi -- ofu / lunio max cos.

A.D. 263?

98. COLONIA IULIA PATERNA CLAUDIA NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne)

In latere sinistro urceus ansatus; in latere dextro patera.

CIL XII, 4325.

Matri Deum / tauribolium impe[rio] accepit Liguria Thymele / et [ar?]am sacris posu[it].

3rd century ?

99. COLONIA IULIA PATERNA CLAUDIA NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne)

In latere sinistro urceus; in latere dextro patera; in medio caput arietis et caput bovis.

CIL XII, 4326.

Q t (????) fecit -- Ursa / Marcian[i filia] sacer/dote / Iulio E[u-] prepe[te]. -------- 2 lines -------

3rd century A.D.?

100. COLONIA IULIA PATERNA CLAUDIA NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne)

Ara; in medio capita bovis et arietis; in latere sinistro patera; in dextro urceus.

CIL XII, 4327.

DM---------

The ornamentation makes it probable that this is a *taurobolium*-inscription.

101. COLONIA IULIA PATERNA CLAUDIA NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne)

In medio caput arietis et caput bovis.

CIL XII, 4328.

Matri deum / tauropolium / ------ 4 lines --------

102. COLONIA IULIA PATERNA CLAUDIA NARBO MARTIUS (Narbonne)

CIL XII, 4329.

Tauropolium provinciae.

AQUITANIA

103. LACTORA (Lectoure)

CIL XIII, 504; Dessau, 4121.

Matri Deum / Pomp(eia) Philumene / quae prima L[a]ctor[a]e/ taurobolium / fecit.

Before or on the 18th October A.D. 176.

104. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea m. 0,78 alta; 0,34 lata; in latere sinistro caput bovis; in latere dextro caput arietis.

CIL XIII, 505; Dessau, 4123.

Sacrum / M(atri) M(agnae) / Ant(onia) Prima / tauropo/lium fec(it) / host(iis) suis / sacerdotib(us) Zm/inthio Procliani (liberto) et / Pacio Agrippae (liberto) / [Pollione II et Apr]o II co(n)s(ulibus) XV k(alendas) Novemb(res).

18th October A.D. 176.

105. LACTORA (Lectoure)

CIL XIII, 506.

S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum) / Aurelia Oppidana / tauropolium fecit / hostis suis sacerd(otibus) / Zminthio Proculiani (liberto) / et Pacio

Agrippae (liberto) / Pollione II et Apro II / cons(ulibus) XV k(alendas) Nov(embres).

18th October A.D. 176.

106. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea litteris malis alta m. 0,69; lata 0,25.

CIL XIII, 507; Dessau, 4122.

M(atri) Deum / Iul(ia) Valentina / et Hygia Sil[a]nae (serva) / tauropolium fe/cerunt XV k(alendas) Nov(embres) / Pol(lione) et Apro co(n)s(ulibus) / sacerdote Zmin/thio Proculiani (liberto).

18th October A.D. 176.

107. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,74; lata 0,25; in latere dextro caput arietis; in latere sinistro caput bovis.

CIL XIII, 508.

Sacrum / M(atri) M(agnae) / Ael(ia) Nice / tauropo/lium fe/cit hos/tis suis / sacerdot(e) Zmintio Procliani (liberto).

c. A.D. 176

108. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,83; lata 0,95; in latere sinistro caput bovis; in latere dextro caput arietis.

CIL XIII, 509; Dessau, 4124.

Sacrum M(atri) M(agnae) / Marciana / Marciani f(ilia) / tauropolium / fecit hostis / suis sacerdo/te Zmintio Pro/culiani lib(erto).

c. A.D. 176.

109. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,90; lata 0,47; in latere sinistro caput bovis evanidum; in latere dextro patera ansata.

CIL XIII, 511; Dessau, 4126.

Pro salute Imp(eratoris) M(arci) / Antonini Gordiani / Pii Fel(icis)

Aug(usti) et Sa/binae Tranquil/linae Aug(ustae) toti/usq(ue) domus divi/nae proq(ue) statu / civitat(is) Lactor(atium) / tauropolium fe/cit ordo Lact(oratium) / D(omino) N(ostro) Gordiano / Aug(usto) II et Pompeiano co(n)s(ulibus) / VI idus Dec(embres) curantib(us) / M(arco) Erotio Festo et M(arco) / Carinio Caro sacerd(ote) / Traianio Nundinio.

8th December A.D. 241.

110. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea in latere sinistro guttus; in latere dextro patera ansata.

CIL XIII, 512.

S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum) / G(aius) Iulius Secun/dus tauropo/lium accepit / hostis suis / sacerd(ote) Tra/ianio Nun/dinio, D(omino) N(ostro) / Gordiano II / et Pomiano / co(n)s(ulibus) VI idus Dec(embres).

8th December A.D. 241.

111. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Stela marmorea m. 0,95 alta; 0,39 lata.
In latere sinistro patera ansata; in latere dextro guttus deletus.

CIL XIII, 513.

S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum) / Iul(ia) Clementia/na tauropoli/um accepit / hostis suis / sacerd(ote) Traia/nio Nundini/o, D(omino) N(ostro) Gordi/ano II et Pom/peiano co(n)s(ulibus) / VI idus Dec(embres).

8th December A.D. 241.

112. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,84; lata 0,40; in latere sinistro guttus evanidus, in latere dextro patera ansata.

CIL XIII, 514. See frontispiece, reproduced with the kind permission of Miss Mary Larrieu (photo: Ciné Barbé)).

S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum) / Iul(ia) Nice tau/ropolium ac/cepit

hostis / suis sacerd(ote) / Traianio / Nundinio, D(omino) N(ostro) / Gordiano II et / Pompeiano / co(n)s(ulibus) VI id(us) Dec(embres).

8th December A.D. 241.

113. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,88; lata 0,40; in latere dextro patera ansata; in latere sinistro caput bovis.

CIL XIII, 515.

S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum) / Iunia Domi/tia tauro/polium ace/pit hostis su/is sacerdote / Traianio Nu/ndinio D(omino) N(ostro) Gor/diano II et Po/mpeiano co(n)s(ulibus) VI id(us) Dec(embres).

8th December A.D. 241.

114. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,75; lata 0,32; in sinistro latere patera.

CIL XIII, 516.

S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum) / Pomp(eia) Flora / tauropoliu/m accepit h/ostis suis sa/cerdote Tra/ianio Nund/inio. D(omino) N(ostro) Gor/diano II et Po/mpeiano co(n)s(ulibus) / VI id(us) Dec(embres).

8th December A.D. 241.

115. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,75; lata 0,32; in sinistro latere patera.

CIL XIII, 517.

S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum) / Servilia Mo/desta taur/opolium ac/cepit hostis s/uis sacerdote / Traianio Nund/inio, D(omino) N(ostro) Gordi/ano II et Pompe/iano co(n)s(ulibus) / VI id(us) Dec(embres).

8th December A.D. 241.

116. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea, alta m. 0,84; lata 0,37.

CIL XIII, 518; Dessau, 4128.

S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum) / Val(eria) Gemin/a tauropoli/um a[c]cepit

/ hostis suis sa/cerdote Tra/ianio Nund[in] /io, D(omino) N(ostro) Gord/iano II et Po/mpeiano co(n)s(ulibus) / VI id(us) Dec(embres).

8th December A.D. 241.

117. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,95; lata 0,42; in latere sinistro patera ansata; in latere dextro guttus fere deletus.

CIL XIII, 519.

[S(acrum)] M(atri) D(eum) / Verin(ia) Seve/ra tauropo/lium accep/it hostis su/is sacerdot/e Traianio N/undinio. D(omino) N(ostro) / Gordiano II / et Pompeiano / co(n)s(ulibus) VI id(us) Dec(embres).

8th December A.D. 241.

118. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,96; lata 0,5; in sinistro latere caput bovis; in latere dextro caput arietis.

CIL XIII, 520; Dessau, 4125.

Pro salute / et incolumi/tate domus / divinae r(es) p(ublica) / Lactorat(ium) tau/ropol(ium) fecit.

c. A.D. 176?

119. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea litteris malis, alta m. 0,69; lata 0,25; in latere sinistro patera; in latere dextro guttus.

CIL XIII, 521.

Sacr(um) / M(atri) M(agnae) / Aprilis Repenti/ni fil(ius) et Satur/-nina Taurini / fil(ia) tauropoli/um acceperunt / sacerdote / L. Accio Rem(o?) hostiis / suis.

120. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea frondibus ornata.

CIL XIII, 522.

Severus / Iulli fil(ius) / vires tauri / quo propri[e] / per tauropo/-lium pub(lice) fac/tum fecerat / consacravit.

121. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,78; lata 0,38.

CIL XIII, 523.

Sacrum / M(atri) M(agnae) / Severa Quar/ti f(ilia) tauropol(ium) / fecit ho(s)tis / suis.

122. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea alta m. 0,48; lata 0,21.

CIL XIII, 524.

M(atri) M(agnae)/Valentina / Valentis f(ilia) / tauropol(ium) f(ecit) / hostis suis / et Valeria fil(ia).

123. LACTORA (Lectoure)

Ara marmorea litteris bonis; in latere sinistro gladius (?); in latere dextro gladius (?); alta m. 0,85; lata 0,39.

CIL XIII, 525; Dessau, 4129.

Viator / Sabini fil(ius) / vires tauri / quo proprie / per tauropolium pub(lice) fact(um) / fecerat / consacravit.

124. BURDIGALA (Bordeaux)

In medio bucranium cum sertis; in latere sinistro caput arietis; in latere dextro harpe et pileus.

CIL XIII, 573; Dessau, 4157.

Natalici virib(us) / Valer(ia) Iullina / et Iul(ia) Sancta.

125. VESUNNA (Perigueux)

Ara alta m. 1,52; lata 0,74, in latere sinistro caput tauri infulis ornati, ensis hamatus, trulla, urceus. In latere dextro pinus cui avis insidet ex arbore flagilla duo pendent, sub ea syrinx, apex Phrygius, protome Attidis collocata supra basim panno involutam, quam altera basis sustinet; ad dextram Attidis taurus, genibus, ut videtur, nixus; in postica caput arietis, tibiae duae, crotala duo.

CIL XIII, 11.042; Dessau, 9278; AE 1907, no. 138, Espérandieu, *Recueil*, II, 1267; *Revue épigraphique* (1906-1907), 198, tables XIV-XVII.

Numinib(us) Aug(ustorum) / et Magnae Matri D(eum) / Aug(ustae) L. Pompon(ius) Sext(i) / Pompon(i) Paterni / sacerd(otis) Arens(is) fil(ius) Quir(ina tribu) / Paternus aram taurob(olicam) / posuit dedicavit/que.

GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS

126. COLONIA COPIA CLAUDIA AUGUSTA LUGDUNUM (Lyon)

Ara; in latere dextro ensis hamatus; in latere sinistro caput arietis in medio caput bovis.

CIL XIII, 1751; Dessau, 4331.

Taurobolio Matris D(eum) M(agnae) Id(aeae) / quod factum est ex imperio Matris ‹D(eum)› / Deum / pro salute Imperatoris Caes(aris) T(iti) Aeli / Hadriani Antonini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriae) / liberorumque eius / et status coloniae Lugudun(ensium) / L(ucius) Aemilius Carpus IIIIIIvir aug(ustalis) item / dendrophorus / vires excepit et a vaticano trans/tulit ara(m) et bucranium / suo inpendio consacravit / sacerdote / Q(uinto) Samnio Secundo ab XV viris / occabo et corona exornato / cui sanctissimus ordo Lugudunens (ium) / perpetuitatem sacerdoti decrevit / App(io) Annio Atilio Bradua T(ito) Clod(io) Vibio / Varo cons(ulibus). / L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) /.

In latere dextro:

Cuius mesonyctium / factum est V id(us) Dec(embres).

9th December 160.

127. COLONIA COPIA CLAUDIA AUGUSTA LUGDUNUM (Lyon)

Ara alta m. 2,05; lata 0,75.

In latere sinistro caput arietis et ensis hamatus; in latere dextro caput bovis infulatum.

CIL XIII, 1752; Dessau, 4132.

..... 2 lines ..... / Numinib(us) Aug(ustorum) totiusque / domus divinae et situ C(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) / Aug(ustae) Lugud(unensium) / tauribolium fece/runt dendrophori Luguduni consistentes / XVI kal(endas) Iulias / imp------- / Marco Sura Septimiano / co(n)s(ulibus) ex vaticinatione / Pusoni Iuliani archi/galli sacerdote / Aelio Castrense / tibicine Fl(avio) Restituto / honori omnium / Cl(audius) Silvanus Perpetuus / quinquennalis inpen/dium huius arae remisit. / L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

16th June A.D. 190.

128. COLONIA COPIA CLAUDIA AUGUSTA LUGDUNUM (Lyon)

Ara; in latere sinistro ensis hamatus, caput bovis caput arietis; in latere dextro idem.

CIL XIII, 1753; Dessau, 4133.

Pro salute Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Sep/timi Severi Pertina/cis Aug(usti) et D(ecimi) Clodi / Septimi Albini Caes(aris) / domusq(ue) divinae et sta/tu C(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) Aug(ustae) Lug-(dunensium) taurobo/lium fecerunt Aufustia / Alexandria et Sergia / Parthenope ex voto / praeeunte Aelio Castren/se sacerdote tibicine Fl(avio) / Restituto. Inchoatum est / sacrum VII idus Mai(as), con/summatum V id(us) easdem / [I]mp(eratore) L(ucio) Septimio Severo Pertinac(i) Aug(usto) / [D(ecimo) Clod(io) Sept-(imio) Albino Caes(are)] / $\overline{II}$ co(n)s(ulibus). / [L(ocus)] d(atus) [d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)].

9th-11th May A.D. 194.

129. COLONIA COPIA CLAUDIA AUGUSTA LUGDUNUM (Lyon)

Ara; in latere sinistro caput arietis et bovis; in latere dextro ensis hamatus, caput bovis et caput arietis.

CIL XIII, 1754.

[pro] salute Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Septimi / [Seve]/ri Pii Pertinacis

Aug(usti) / et M(arci) Aureli Antonini Caes(aris) / Imp(eratoris) destinati et / Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris castror(um) / totiusque domus divinae / eorum et statu C(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) Aug(ustae) Lug(dunensium) / taurobolium fecerunt / Septicia Valeriana et / Optatia Siora ex voto / praeeunte Aelio Antho sa/cerdote, sacerdotia Aemi/lia Secundilla tibicine Fl(avio) / Restituto apparatore Vire/io Hermetione. / Inchoatum est sacrum IIII / nonas Maias, consumma/tum nonis eisdem / T(ito) Sextio Laterano L(ucio) Cuspio / Ru[f]ino co(n)s(ulibus). / L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

4th-7th May A.D. 197.

130. COLONIA COPIA CLAUDIA AUGUSTA LUGDUNUM (Lyon)

Fragmentum litteris bonis saeculi tertii ineuntis.

CIL XIII, 1755.

------- i --- / ---- per --/ -- par--/ --- 2 lines -/ ----mp-(eratoris) Caes(aris) / ----Perta--/ P. Caes M Au--/-- Pii Feli(cis) --/---- t(hici) M(aximi) Ara(bici) --/----- taurob]oli[um---/.

c. A.D. 200.

131. COLONIA COPIA CLAUDIA AUGUSTA LUGDUNUM (Lyon)

Ara quadrata; in medio caput bovis detritum.

CIL XIII, 1756.

Taurobolium / Matris Deum Aug(ustae) / Billia T. Fil(ia) Veneria / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

2nd century A.D.

BELGICA

132. DIVODURUM (Metz)

Ara magna ex lapide calcario, difficilima lectu; in latere sinistro

patera ansata; in antico caput tauri; in latere dextro syrinx, pedum, trulla; in postico caput arietis.

CIL XIII, 11.352.

----- 2 lines --- nia / ara(m) t(aurobolicam) ob natalic/ium [e]x iussu ref(iciendam) c(uravit) / Annulino II et Fro/(n)tone co(n)s-(ulibus).

A.D. 199.

We have expanded with *reficiendam* rather than the *reficiendum* of other scholars, because we think that it is here the altar that is being referred to.

GERMANIA SUPERIOR

133. VESULUM (Vesoul)

CIL XIII, 5451.

Miroudot:

Taurobol(io) Matris D(eum) / --3 lines -- / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Coudret:

Taurobolio Matris D(eum) M(agnae) Id(eae) / -- 1 line -- / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

B. THE LITERARY TEXTS

1. *Iulius Firmicus Maternus*

c. A.D. 350: *De errore profanarum religionum* (*ed.* K. Ziegler, Lipsiae 1907), XXVII, 8.

Johannes quoque filium dei agni nomine appellat, ut et ipse propheticae pollicitationi respondeat. Ait enim in evangelio: 'Altero die videt Iohannes Iesum venientem ad se et ait: ecce agnus dei ecce qui aufert peccata mundi.' Pro salute hominum agni istius venerandus sanguis effunditur, ut sanctos suos filius dei profusione pretiosi sanguinis redimat, ut qui Christi sanguine liberantur, maiestate prius inmortalis sanguinis consecrentur. Neminem aput idola profusus sanguis invenit, et ne cruor pecudum miseros homines aut decipiat aut perdat, polluit sanguis iste non redemit, et per varios casus hominem premit in morte. Miseri sunt qui profusione sacrilegi sanguinis / cruentantur. Tauribolium quid vel criobolium scelerata te sanguinis labe perfundit?

2. *Anonymus*

A.D. 394: *Carmen contra paganos* (*ed.* Baehrens, *PLM*, III, Lipsiae 1881, 286-292), vss 57-62.

Quis tibi taurobolus vestem mutare suasit,
Inflatus dives, subito mendicus ut esses?
Obsitus et pannis, modica stipe factus epaeta
Sub terram missus, pollutus sanguine tauri,
Sordidus, infestus, vestes servare cruentas,
Vivere num speras viginti mundus in annos?

See G. Manganaro, *La reazione pagana a Roma nel 408-409 e il poemetto anonimo „contra paganos"* in *Giornale italiano di filologia* 13 (1960), 210-224, who dates the poem in 409.

3. *Aelius Lampridius*

Fourth century: *Vita Heliogabali* (*ed.* E. Hohl, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Lipsiae* 1955 = *editio stereotypa editionis prioris* 1927), VII, 1.

Matris etiam deum sacra accepit et tauroboliatus est, ut typum eriperet et alia sacra quae penitus habentur condita.

4. *Prudentius*

c. A.D. 400: *Peristephanon* (*ed.* Lavarenne, Coll. des universités de France, Paris 1951), hymn X, 1006-1050.

Respondit his Romanus: « Eccum, praesto sum;
meus iste sanguis uerus est, non bubulus,
Agnoscis illum, quem loquor, miserrime
pagane, uestri sanguinem sacrum bouis,
cuius litata caede permadescitis?

Summus sacerdos nempe sub terram scrobe
acta in profundum consecrandus mergitur.
mire infulatus, festa uittis tempora
nectens, corona tum repexus aurea,
cinctu Gabino sericam fultus togam.

Tabulis superne strata texunt pulpita
rimosa rari pegmatis compagibus;
scindunt subinde uel terebrant aream,
crebroque lignum perforant acumine,
pateat minutis ut frequens hiatibus.

Huc taurus ingens fronte torua et hispida
sertis reuinctus aut per armos floreis
aut impeditis cornibus deducitur,
nec non et auro frons coruscat hostiae
saetasque fulgor brattealis inficit.

Hic ut statuta est immolanda belua,
pectus sacrato diuidunt uenabulo;
eructat amplum uulnus undam sanguinis
feruentis, inque texta pontis subditi
fundit uaporum flumen et late aestuat.

Tum per frequentes mille rimarum uias
inlapsus imber tabidum rorem pluit,

defossus intus quem sacerdos excipit,
guttas ad omnes turpe subiectans caput,
et ueste et omni putrefactus corpore.

Quin os supinat, obuias offert genas,
supponit aures, labra, nares obicit,
oculos et ipsos perluit liquoribus,
nec iam palato parcit et linguam rigat,
donec cruorem totus atrum combibat.

Postquam cadauer sanguine egesto rigens
compage ab illa flamines retraxerint,
procedit inde pontifex uisu horridus,
ostentat udum uerticem, barbam grauem,
uittas madentes atque amictus ebrios.

Hunc inquinatum talibus contagiis,
tabo recentis sordidum piaculi,
omnes salutant atque adorant eminus,
uilis quod illum sanguis et bos mortuus
foedis latentem sub cauernis lauerint.

PART II

ANALYSIS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE NON-VERBAL TERMS

However disparate the taurobolium inscriptions may appear at first sight, there are a number of elements that occur again and again. Among these a distinction can be made between the verbs, which express the essence of the ceremony, and the non-verbal terms, which give us supplementary information about its nature. It is with the second of these two groups that we begin our analysis of the epigraphic sources. Literary texts will be cited only when they can be of assistance in the interpretation of the inscriptional evidence.

The name of the rite is certainly the feature that first demands our attention. In specialist literature it is always called *„taurobolium"*, and this study also has that word as title, but *taurobolium* is not the only form found in the inscriptions and texts, nor is it the only rite recorded in *taurobolium* inscriptions.

As well as *taurobolium* [1]) one finds in the Latin inscriptions

[1]) Iberian Peninsula: Emerita **79** (—); Corduba: **75** (A.D. 234).
Africa: Mactar: **60** (276-284); **61** (285-293); **62** (—); Thibilis: **69** (—).
Gallia Narbonensis: Dea: **84** (—); **86** (198-209); Valentia **92** (198-209) Tegna: **93** (184) Alba Helvorum **89** (—); Caveirac **90** (245); Narbo **94**, **95** (—).
Aquitania: Lactora **103** (before 176); Vesunna: **125** (—).
Gallia Lugudunensis: Lugdunum: **126** (160): **128** (194); **129** (197); **130** (*c.* 200); **131** (2nd cent.).
Germania Superior: Vesulum: **133**.
Rome: **11** (305; **12** (350); **13** (374); **14**, **15** (383); **16** (390); **17** (376); **18** (295); **19** (*c.* 295); **20** (313); **21** (319); **22** (370); **23** (376); **24** (377); **25** (390); **34** (374).
Latium Vetus: Ostia: **35** (169-175); **37** (390); **38** (251-253); **39** (—): **40** (222-235); Lavinium: **46** (212); Gabii: **48** (*c.* 204); Formiae: **49** (241).
Regio I: Puteoli: **50** (134); Rufrae: **51** (2nd cent.).
Regio II: Beneventum **55**, **56** (*c.* 228).
Regio IV: Teate: **52** (235-238).
Regio VIII: Forum Popilii: **10** (186).
Regio XI: Taurini: **8**, **9** (—).

tauribolium,[1]) *tauropolium*,[2]) and *tauripolium*,[3]) and in the Greek, ταυροβόλιον [4]) and ταυρόβολον [5]). A word derived from *taurobolium* and also occurring in the inscriptions is *tauroboliatus*.[6]) The problem here is, which of these forms is to be considered the original. This is of importance for the investigation of the origin of the rite, since etymology also can make a contribution here, and one must, of course, take the original form as starting-point. In this particular case we have in reality merely to decide whether the form with 'b' or that with 'p' is the older, since the rare forms *tauribolium* and *tauripolium* are plainly only mis-spellings of *taurobolium* and *tauropolium*, and deserve no more thought than the many other spelling-mistakes to be found in the inscriptions. In considering the respective claims of *taurobolium* and *tauropolium* one should lay the emphasis not so much on the more frequent occurrence of the 'b' form (the ratio is about 5:2), as on the different periods at which the two spellings were used. If we approach the question from this angle it at once becomes clear that the *-bolium* form is the older. All the older premetroac inscriptions without exception have this

[1]) Iberian Peninsula: Corduba: **74** (238).
Africa: Diana Vet.: **72** (—); Tipasa: **73** (222-235).
Gallia Narbonensis: Narbo: **98** (—).
Gallia Lugudunensis: Lugudunum: **127** (190).
Regio II: Beneventum: **58** (*c.* 228).
See A. Carnoy, *Le Latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, Bruxelles 1906, 261-262, who explains *tauribolium* as a compound of a genitive *tauri* and the noun *bolium*.

[2]) Gallia Narbenensis: Reii: **81** (—); Arausio: **87** (185-193); Vasio: **88** (—); Narbo: **96** (198-209); **101**, **102** (—).
Aquitania: Lactora: **104, 105, 106** (176); **107**, **108** (*c.* 176); **109-117** (241); **118-123** (—).

[3]) Africa: Thibilis: **70** (2nd century).
Gallia Narbonensis: Vintium: **80** (—).

[4]) Asia: Ilion: **1** (1st century B.C.); Pergamon: **3** (*c.* 105 A.D.); Pinara: **4** (1st century B.C.).
Achaia: Athens: **6** (387).

[5]) Achaia: Athens: **5** (before 387).
Rome **22** (370); **30** (4th century).

[6]) Africa: Carthage: **64** (—); **66** (—).
Rome: **24** (377); **26** (380); **27** (387); **28** (*c.* 385); **29** (*c.* 370); **32** (*c.* 380).
Regio II: Brindisium: **59** (—).
Latium Vetus: Ostia **44** (370); **45** (—); Antium **47** (385).

spelling: Pinara (1st cent B.C.),[1]) Pergamon (*c.* A.D. 100),[2]) Ilion (1st cent B.C.),[3]) and Puteoli (A.D. 134).[4]) The *criobolium* inscription of about 135 B.C. from Pergamon can also be taken als lending support to this conclusion [5]) since it too has the *-bolium* form. In the metroac *taurobolium* inscriptions it is again *taurobolium* that is the older spelling. The first occurrence of *tauropolium* is in A.D. 176.

If we have devoted some considerable space to this problem, that is mainly because Cumont has expressed the opinion in a number of articles [6]) that *tauropolium* should be considered the older form, and has used this mistaken idea as a reason for involving Artemis Tauropolos in the investigation of the origins of the *taurobolium*. It is to be hoped that this view has now been finally demolished. There is probably much more truth in the other explanation [7]), that taurobolium is a latinization of ταυροβόλιον, which is itself a compound of ταῦρος and βάλλειν. Almost everyone now agrees in this derivation. However the meanings assigned to βάλλειν in this compound are again various. Since this problem belongs rather to the investigation of the origins of the *taurobolium*, we shall postpone its discussion to the appropriate chapter.[8]) *Tauropo-*

[1]) No. **4**.
[2]) No. **3**.
[3]) No. **1**.
[4]) No. **50**.
[5]) No. **2**.
[6]) Cumont, *Anahita*, 135, n 4; Cumont, *Bellone*, 101.
[7]) Espérandieu, *Lectoure*, 94; Graillot, 154; Bailey, 202; Briem 313; Pettazzoni, 108; Schwenn, 2277; Wissowa, 324.
[8]) For the sake of completeness we here mention yet a third theory, which was proposed by Derenbourg (*Actes du Congrès international d'histoire des religions* I, Paris 1900; 23). He finds in *taurobolium* a similarity to words such as *Aglibolos* and *Jaribolos*—the names of Syrian gods which are really Graecized forms of *Baal* and *Bel*. *Taurobolium* would then mean bull of Baal. As evidence for this theory he quotes the occurrence of the word *schourboolam* with the meaning bull of *Baal* in a Himyaritic inscription. Rummens, 197-205, refuted this interpretation and referred to Chantepie de la Saussaye (*Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, I, Tübingen 1925[4], 635), who explained *schourboolam* as 'rock of Baal'! But even if the word actually did mean 'Bull of Baal', this would not help our understanding of the rite in the least. This interpretation has therefore not found many supporters.

lium is therefore most probably a local variant, since, with one exception, the word is restricted to Southern Gaul. The voiced 'b' has there been replaced by the voiceless 'p.' The difference is not very great and can be explained to a great degree by the foreign nature of the word. In the places such as Lactora, Narbo, and Thibilis, where the *-polium* form occurs, we find the form in *-bolium* also.[1])

As well as the *taurobolium* another rite, the *criobolium*, is repeatedly referred to in the inscriptions. This is also spelt in various ways: *criobolium* [2])—and its derivative *crioboliatus* [3])—*creobolium*,[4]) *crinobolium*,[5]) *suscepit crionis*,[6]) *criopolium*,[7]) and in the Greek inscriptions κριοβόλιον [8]) and κριόβολον.[9]) In this case also the form in *-bolium* is both of earlier and more common occurrence than *-polium*, and the ratio between the two is even more in favour of *-bolium* (26:1).

From what we have said about the etymology of *taurobolium* it is clear that *criobolium* also is to be derived from a Greek word κριοβόλιον, which is once more a compound of βάλλειν. Ταῦρος (bull) is here replaced by κριός (ram). The etymology gives us our first indication that the *criobolium* was the same rite as the *taurobolium*, only with a different victim. This is confirmed by the context of the *criobolium* inscriptions. Without anticipating the chapter on the evolution of the rite, we can nevertheless touch on the fact that the *criobolium* went through the whole of this develop-

[1]) Nos. **69, 94, 95, 103**.
[2]) Africa: Tipasa **73** (222-235); Mileu: **71** (222-235); Mactar: **60** (276-284); **61** (285-293); **62, 63** (—); Utica: **68** (235-238); Diana Vet.: **72** (—).
Gallia Narb.: Caveirac: **90** (245).
Rome: **13** (374); **14, 15** (383); **16** (390); **17** (376); **18** (295); **19** (*c.* 295); **21** (319); **22** (370); **23** (376); **34** (374).
Regio II: Beneventum: **54** (228).
Regio IV: Teate: **53** (235).
[3]) Iberian Peninsula: Pax Iulia: **78** (—).
[4]) Africa: Thibilis: **70** (—).
[5]) Ostia: **36** c. A.D. (169-175). Ossonoba: **77** (—).
[6]) Iberian Peninsula: Corduba: **74** (238), **75** (234) with *chrionis* instead of *crionis*.
[7]) Gallia Narb.: Vasio: **88** (—).
[8]) Pergamon: **2** (A.D. 135).
[9]) Rome: **22** (370); **30** (—).

ment. We can see this first of all from the fact that the *criobolium* appears in the inscriptions both *circa* 160 (when the first known *taurobolium* was performed) and in 390 (the date of the last *taurobolium* inscription). An even stronger confirmation is that every expression that is found in the *taurobolium* inscriptions occurs also in the *criobolium* inscriptions or in connexion with the *criobolium—facere pro salute,*[1]) *facere,*[2]) *movere,*[3]) *facere* and *tradere,*[4]) *accipere* and *tradere,*[5]) *perficere,*[6]) and *percipere,*[7]) while *criobolati* [8]) may be compared with *taurobolati.*

This rite, which was clearly performed in the same way as the *taurobolium,* is sometimes recorded with a *taurobolium* [9]) and sometimes alone.[10]) It has been suggested [11]) that the *taurobolium* was always accompanied by a *criobolium,* even where this is not mentioned in the inscription. This seems a rather rash assumption, and it would be safer to postulate a *criobolium* only when it is actually mentioned—as it is in almost all the areas where the *taurobolium* was known.[12]) In Gaul this rite is rarely attested, but was nevertheless known, since a large number of the Gallic inscriptions are embellished not only with a bull's head but also with that of a ram.[13])

Many scholars [14]) have seen in the *criobolium* a ceremony specially consecrated to Attis. The duality between Cybele and Attis would then be expressed in the cult also. The inscriptions, however, show

[1]) E.g. no. **88**.
[2]) E.g. no. **70**.
[3]) E.g. no. **53**.
[4]) No. **54**.
[5]) No. **68**.
[6]) E.g. no. **60**.
[7]) E.g. nos **16, 17**.
[8]) No. **78**.
[9]) Nos **13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 30, 33, 34, 60, 61, 62, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 88, 90**.
[10]) Nos **36, 54, 68, 71, 77, 78**.
[11]) Espérandieu, *Lectoure,* 99-110; Zippel, 503; Showerman, 280; Toutain, 89.
[12]) Corduba, Pax Iulia, Thibilis, Milev, Mactar, Utica, Diana Vet., Caveirac, Vasio, Rome, Ostia, Teate, Puteoli.
[13]) Nos **81, 84, 85, 86, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101, 104, 107, 108, 118, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132**.
[14]) Crazannes, note 17; Marquardt, 88; Preller, 390, note 5; Cumont, *Anahita,* 135; Espérandieu, *Lectoure,* 47; 99-110; Nilsson, 624, no. 4; Showerman, 280; 280, note 4; Gruppe, 1552 n. 5; Rummens, 197-205.

that there is no basis for this theory. In one inscription that mentions Attis [1]) there is not a word about a *criobolium*, while there is a *criobolium* inscription that is dedicated to the Mater Deum. [2]) There can therefore be no special relationship between this rite and Attis.

And so we may continue to consider the *criobolium* as a ceremony that had the same form as the *taurobolium*, went through the same process of development, and was celebrated sometimes alone, but usually together with a *taurobolium*. Though we cannot be certain, it is possible that this rite was more common among those who could not permit themselves the luxury of a *taurobolium*.

Finally, we find in the inscriptions the expressions *aemobolium*,[3]) *ecitium*,[4]) and *pantelium*.[5]) These words occur only once and it is therefore extremely difficult to make out what kind of rite they refer to. As one would expect the result has been that they have given rise to various interpretations. Gsell [6]) derives *aemobolium* from αἷμα and βάλλειν. Others [7]) look upon this word as a misspelling of *aigobolium*, which would denote a goat sacrifice, and explain *ecitium* as a Latin form of αἰγίτιον, which would therefore mean the same as *aigobolium*. Graillot [8]) explains *ecitium* as *initium*, while Cumont [9]) thinks it is a spelling-mistake for *eximium*, and interprets *pantelium* as παντέλειον, a solemn sacrifice. Preller,[10]) on the other hand, regards this last word as a latin form of πανθήλιος and takes it to be an epithet of Attis. Our sources are too scanty for us to be able to give a soundly-based explanation, however the derivation of *ecitium* from αἰγίτιον and *aemobolium* from αἷμα and βάλλειν seem the most probable.

As well as the name of the ceremony we usually find in the inscriptions one or more divinities mentioned. We have already

[1]) No. **24** *tauroboliatus matris deum et Attidis* (Rome).
[2]) No. **36** *crinobolium* without Attis in the dedication from Ostia.
[3]) No. **53** (235) from Teate.
[4]) No. **50** (134) from Puteoli.
[5]) No. **50** (134) from Puteoli.
[6]) Gsell, 251-269; Rummens, 150.
[7]) Espérandieu, *Lectoure*, 95 n. 1.
[8]) Graillot, 431.
[9]) Cumont, *Anahita*, 135 n. 1.
[10]) Preller, 392.

made it plain by the use of the terms premetroac and metroac that a fundamental distinction is to be made between the *taurobolia* that belong to the cult of Cybele and those that do not. These other *taurobolia* may be recognized in the five oldest inscriptions,[1]) which we shall be considering in the chapter devoted to the origin of the *taurobolium*. All the remaining inscriptions that have dedications can be placed in the context of the cult of the Great Mother. One may therefore confidently assume that from 160 the *taurobolium* belonged exclusively to her cult.

In the inscriptions Cybele is given the following appellations: *mater deum*,[2]) *mater deum augusta*,[3]) *mater deum optima maxima*,[4]) *mater deum magna*,[5]) *mater deum magna Idaea*,[6]) *mater deum magna Idaea augusta*,[7]) *Terra mater aerecura mater deum magna Idaea*,[8]) *mater deum magna Idaea sanctissima*,[9]) *mater deum magna Idaea sancta*,[10]) *mater deum magna Idaea Phrygia Palatina*,[11]) *mater deum magna Idaea summa parens*,[12]) *mater magna*,[13]) *mater magna Idaea*,[14]) and *Idaea mater*;[15]) in the Greek inscriptions we find μήτηρ θεῶν,[16]) Θεὰ παμμήτωρ,[17]) and Ῥείη.[18]) These are the usual titles of Cybele and require no further explanation. Even the occurrence of Ῥείη in the Greek inscriptions is not so exceptional, since there

[1]) No, **2** Pergamon (*c.* 135 B.C.); **1** Ilion (1st cent. B.C.); **4** Pinara (1st cent. B.C.); **3** Pergamon (*c.* A.D. 105); **50** Puteoli (A.D. 134).
[2]) Nos **15, 21, 23, 26, 32, 45, 47, 74, 78, 79, 82, 85, 87, 94, 95, 98, 103, 105, 106, 110-117**.
[3]) No. **131**.
[4]) No. **51**.
[5]) Nos **19, 41, 77**.
[6]) Nos **11, 14, 15, 18, 24, 25, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 48, 67, 81, 83, 88, 91, 92, 126, 133.**
[7]) Nos **60, 61, 65, 72**.
[8]) Nos **69, 70**.
[9]) No. **73**.
[10]) No. **71**.
[11]) No. **90**.
[12]) No. **13**.
[13]) Nos **104, 107, 108, 119, 121, 122**.
[14]) Nos **49, 68, 89**.
[15]) No. **80**.
[16]) No. **30**.
[17]) No. **30**.
[18]) Nos **5, 22, 31**.

are examples enough of the identification of Rhea with the μήτηρ θεῶν in the Greek world. However the dedication of two inscriptions from Thibilis is unusual—*Terra mater aerecura mater deum magna Idaea.*[1]) Gsell [2]) is probably right in taking the whole of this as a title of Cybele's.

The inscriptions from Beneventum [3]) in which we come across Minerva Berecyntia also deserve special consideration. In the past scholars have usually settled this problem by declaring that Minerva Berecyntia is merely a local appellation for Cybele.[4]) As we have shown, there are a number of objections to this view. The most obvious is that in two of the inscriptions in this series the customary *mater deum* occurs,[5]) and this proves that Cybele's usual title was certainly known there. It is, moreover, most unlikely that the same goddess should be referred to in one and the same inscription in two such disparate ways. We have also to remember that both Cybele and Minerva were very well-known divinities such as one would least expect to be identified in Italy itself and in the third century. In an article [6]) I have tried to show that in this case the goddess referred to is Athena Ilias. I have also explained there the origin of this unusual title and the reason for Athena's presence in the context of the cult of the Great Mother. And so, we here have five *taurobolium* inscriptions that are not dedicated to Cybele. This does not mean that they are totally unconnected with her, since in two of them she is mentioned a little later in the text. We must therefore conclude that occasionally a (somewhat subtle) distinction was made between the divinity to whom the *taurobolium* was dedicated, and the divinity that for one reason or another was to be specially honoured by the inscription. Another case in which this distinction may be seen even more clearly is an inscription from Rome [7]) in which we find Hermes mentioned in the dedication.

[1]) Nos **69, 70**.
[2]) Gsell, 265; 269.
[3]) Minerva Berecintia: **54**; in the other inscriptions we find Paracentia (**55, 57, 58**); Parachintia (**56**).
[4]) Duthoy, *Beneventum*, 549-550 gives a survey of the earlier theories.
[5]) Nos. **54, 56**.
[6]) Duthoy, *Beneventum*, 548-561.
[7]) No. **13**.

There is no possible connexion between Hermes and the *taurobolium*. It is therefore in the name of the dedicator, Hermogenianus, that the explanation is to be found. Apparently because of his name he felt himself closely related to Hermes, and wished to express this by including, as we should say, his patron saint alongside the *mater deum* and Attis in the dedication. It is probable that the occurrence of the *Numina Augustorum* in a few inscriptions [1]) is also to be explained by the distinction that was made between the divinity to be honoured and the one to whom the *taurobolium* was dedicated. These were usually the same, but as the dedications to Minerva Berecyntia, the *Numina Augustorum* and Hermes show, they could be different.

The name of Attis appears in the dedications only at a later date. It occurs in an inscription of about the year A.D. 228 from Beneventum,[2]) but after that we do not find it again till 295. From this time it is to be found in all the inscriptions.[3]) This fact is another piece of evidence in support of Lambrechts' thesis that Attis became important in the cult of Cybele only at a late stage.[4]) We have already seen that there is no connexion between Attis and the *criobolium*. His name appears with that of the *Mater Deum* at Rome, but always after hers. They are referred to together as *potentissimi di*,[5]) *di animae suae mentisque custodes*,[6]) *di magni*,[7]) *di omnipotentes*,[8]) and *di magni tutores*.[9]) In two inscriptions the names of Cybele and Attis do not appear, but *di magni* [10]) and *di omnipotentes* [11]) are mentioned. There is, however, no doubt that Attis and Cybele are intended by these expressions.

[1]) Nos **87, 125, 127**.
[2]) Beneventum Nos **54** to **58**: Attis.
[3]) Rome: Attis **18** (295); **19** (*c.* 295); **23** (376); **15** (383); Attis Menotyrannus **21** (319); **25** (390); Attis Menotyrannus invictus **13** (374); Attis Menotyrannus sanctus **34** (374); **24** (377); **14** (383).
[4]) P. Lambrechts, *Attis: van herdersknaap tot god*, Brussel 1962.
[5]) No. **21** (319).
[6]) No. **13** (374).
[7]) No. **34** (374), **23** (376).
[8]) No. **15** (383).
[9]) No. **25** (390).
[10]) No. **17** (376).
[11]) No. **16** (390).

In concluding these observations on the divinities of the rite, I should like to emphasize that, contrary to what has long been the general opinion,[1]) and is still sometimes to be found in popular works, the *taurobolium* has nothing to do with Mithraism. The only inscription that can be said to support this connexion (CIL VI, 736) is apparently a forgery.[2])

A number of the inscriptions tell us exactly who or what prompted the dedicator to celebrate a *taurobolium*. In some cases it was the priest: *ex vaticinatione archigalli*:[3]) in others, a vow: *ex voto*;[4]) while finally other inscriptions would have us believe that the command to perform the rite was from the goddess herself: *ex imperio matris deum*,[5]) and *ex iussu matris deum*.[6]) It is not clear whether this idea was the result of a dream, as Graillot surmises,[7]) or whether the priest of the cult implied it by a gentle hint.

These expressions *ex voto*, *ex iussu*, and *ex imperio* place the *taurobolium* completely in the context of sacrifice. Although *ex vaticinatione* does not necessarily indicate a sacrifice, neither does it exclude such an interpretation. These three expressions are almost always accompanied by the verb *facere* and after 245 they no longer occur.[8]) One has the impression that they are peculiar to one particular—early—stage in the development of the *taurobolium*.

The expression *mandante patre* that occurs in an inscription from Diana Veteranorum [9]) also deserves mention here, since it

[1]) Réville, 68-69; 95-97; Briem, 313-314.
[2]) Lebègue, *Note sur les tauroboles et le christianisme* in *Revue Historique* 28 (1888), 315-318; commentary in CIL.
[3]) No. **71** Milev (222-235) *facere pro salute*.
No. **93** Tegna (184) *facere pro salute*.
No. **127** Lugdunum (190) *facere pro salute*. See also *Fragm. Vat*: „De excusatione" § 148.
[4]) No. **85** Dea (—): *facere pro salute*; **128** Lugdunum (194); *facere pro salute*; **19** Rome (*c.* 295) *facere*.
[5]) No. **96** Narbo (198-209): *facere pro salute*; **98** Narbo (3rd cent.): *accipere*; **126** Lugdunum (160): *facere pro salute*; **50** Puteoli (134).
[6]) No. **74** Corduba (238): *facere pro salute*; **94** Narbo (—): *celebrare*; **54** Beneventum (228): *facere*. **132** Divodurum (199): *aram reficiendam curavit*;
[7]) Graillot, 170.
[8]) The only exception is No. **19** from Rome.
[9]) No. **72**.

again tells us what prompted the dedicator to have a *taurobolium* performed. Gsell [1]) regards this phrase as equivalent to *ex vaticinatione archigalli* and assumes that the word *pater* refers to a certain rank of initiate in the mysteries of Cybele. However he can produce no evidence to support this interpretation and it seems unnecessary to look beyond the usual sense of the word.

The expressions *hostis suis*,[2]) *de suo*,[3]) *ex stipe conlata*,[4]) *sua pecunia*,[5]) *suo sumptu*,[6]) *sumptibus suis*,[7]) and *suo impendio*[8]) are repeatedly found in inscriptions commemorating a sacrifice, in just the same way as the phrases used to express the motive for a *taurobolium*. And so once again we have an indication of the close relationship between the *taurobolium* and a sacrifice. But it is only in inscriptions of the second and third centuries that these phrases are to be found—yet another sign that the sacrificial aspect of the *taurobolium* afterwards lost its importance. Such expressions as *suo impendio*, *suo sumptu*, and *sumptibus suis* do not require much explanation; again and again we read that a dedicator has met the expenses of a *taurobolium*. We would merely mention that *suo impendio* is used here only in connexion with the payment for the erection of an altar. From *ex stipe conlata* we learn that collections were also organized in order to defray the cost of a *taurobolium*. The *stips* was apparently a common phenomenon in the cult of Cybele.[9]) *Hostis suis* could be taken as "with the victims supplied by the dedicator"—that is the interpretation of Espérandieu,[10]) Zippel[11]) and Opperman.[12]) *Hostia*, in contrast with *victima*, denotes a small victim and is therefore less applicable to a bull.[13]) Chaudruc

[1]) Gsell, 256-259.
[2]) Dea **83** (245): *facere*; Lactora: **104-105** (176) *facere*; **107-108** (*c.* 176): *facere*; **110-117** (241) *accipere*.
[3]) Dea: **84** (—): *facere*; Teate: **52** (235-238); **53** (235) *facere*.
[4]) Narbo: **94** (—): *celebrare*.
[5]) Utica: **68** (235-238) *accipere*; Valentia: **91** (—): *facere*.
[6]) Vintium: **80** (—) *facere*.
[7]) Mactar: **60** (276-284); **61** (285-293).
[8]) Lugdunum: **126** (160): *suo impendio;* **127** (190): *impendium remisit*.
[9]) Graillot, 76, n. 3; *Cicero, Leg.*, II, 9, 22; II, 16, 40.
[10]) Espérandieu, *Lectoure*, 41.
[11]) Zippel, 502.
[12]) Oppermann, 18.
[13]) See J. Marquardt, *Le culte chez les Romains*, Paris 1889, I, 209, n. 2.

de Crazannes [1]) was of the opinion that the word was used in *taurobolium* contexts with the sense of 'expenses' and was merely a synonym for *suo impendio* and *pecunia sua*. This is, of course, possible, but it really makes very little difference whether the word is taken as meaning 'victim' or 'expenses', since in both cases it obviously means that the dedicator paid for the celebration. We may mention that this expression occurs only in inscriptions from Lactora.

Much more important than this information about expenses and motives is the expression *pro salute* [2]) which is to be found in a large number of inscriptions. (A legal text, the Fragmenta Vaticana, also contains the expression *pro salute imperatoris* and refers in all

[1]) Crazannes, 130.

[2])

No.	**35**	Ostia	169-175	—
No.	**36**	Ostia	*c.* 169-175	*facere.*
No.	**38**	Ostia	251-253.	
No.	**40**	Ostia	222-235.	
No.	**42**	Ostia	—	
No.	**52**	Teate	235-238	*movere.*
No.	**60**	Mactar	276-284	*perficere, tradere.*
No.	**61**	Mactar	285-293	*perficere, tradere.*
No.	**62**	Mactar	—	*perficere, tradere.*
No.	**65**	Carthago	255-259	
No.	**67**	Carthago	200-205	
No.	**71**	Milev	222-235	*facere, suscipere.*
No.	**72**	Diana Vet		*movere*
No.	**73**	Tipasa	222-235	*. . . didit.*
No.	**74**	Corduba	238	*facere, suscipere.*
No.	**75**	Corduba	234	*facere, suscipere.*
No.	**83**	Dea Voc.	245	*facere.*
No.	**84**	Dea Voc.	—	*facere.*
No.	**85**	Dea Voc.	—	*facere.*
No.	**86**	Dea Voc.	198-209	— .
No.	**87**	Arausio	185-193	*facere.*
No.	**88**	Vasio	—	*facere.*
No.	**90**	Caveirac	245	— .
No.	**92**	Valentia	*c.* 198-207	— .
No.	**93**	Tegna	184	*facere.*
No.	**96**	Narbo	198-209	*facere.*
No.	**109**	Lactora	241	*facere.*
No.	**118**	Lactora	—	*facere.*
No.	**126**	Lugdunum	160	*facere.*
No.	**127**	Lugdunum	190	*facere.*
No.	**128**	Lugdunum	194	*facere.*
No.	**129**	Lugdunum	197	*facere.*

probability to a *taurobolium*).[1]) This tells us the intention. In most cases *pro salute* is followed by the name of the emperor—sometimes together with that of his wife and the words *domus divina.*

The question now arises as to what the intention was in the case of those *taurobolia* that are not recorded with a *pro salute.* Was it felt that the fact a *taurobolium* was performed *pro salute imperatoris* was so obvious that it need not be explicitly mentioned, or does the lack of this phrase indicate that the intention itself was not present? It is impossible to say with certainty, but it nevertheless seems hard to believe that such an intention with its implications of allegiance and loyalty to the emperor would be omitted without a second thought. Now, this phrase has been interpreted in two completely different ways: spiritual welfare (*pureté spirituelle* in the words of Réville), and a rather more material form of welfare—health. The first rendering is supported by Réville,[2]) Graillot [3]) and Loisy.[4]) These scholars are of the opinion that the *taurobolium* was always performed in the way described by Prudentius. When the rite was celebrated *pro salute imperatoris,* it was not the dedicator in the pit whom the outpored blood regenerated, but the emperor for whom the taurobolium was performed. The second interpretation—bodily welfare, health—is that of Chaudruc de Crazannes [5]) and Zippel.[6]) Indeed the expression *pro salute* occurs in a large number of inscriptions where there can obviously be no reference to *pureté spirituelle* or regeneration,[7]) and we also find *incolumitas, reditus* and *victoria* [8]) next to, or instead of, *salus,* so that it hardly seems possible to attach a 'spiritual' meaning to the word. This impression is further strengthened by the occurrence

[1]) *De excusatione § 148*: *Item is qui in Portu pro salute imperatoris sacrum facit ex vaticinatione archigalli excusatur* [*a tutelis*]. See P. Lambrechts, *Les fêtes „phrygiennes" de Cybèle et d'Attis* in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 27 (1952) 155-156; Graillot, 153, n. 1.

[2]) Réville, 96.

[3]) Graillot, 160-163.

[4]) Loisy, 115-116.

[5]) Crazannes, 128.

[6]) Zippel, 505.

[7]) See indices CIL under the heading *notabilia varia*: *dedicationum causae.*

[8]) *pro salute et incolumitate*: **118** Lactora; *pro salute, reditu et victoria*: **39** Ostia; **40** Ostia (222-235); *pro salute et victoria*: **38** Ostia (251-253); *pro salute et reditu*: **43** Ostia.

of such phrases as *pro salute imperii*,[1]) *pro salute imperatoris et statu coloniae*,[2]) and *pro salute imperatoris* and of various classes of the colony's inhabitants.[3]) This second interpretation is also supported by a text from Tertullian,[4]) which, contrary to the opinion that is sometimes advanced, does not refer to a *taurobolium*,[5]) but merely mentions sacrifices *pro salute imperatoris* at a time when the emperor was already dead. If *salus* had here denoted a spiritual quality, there would have been no occasion for ridicule. What Tertullian is mocking is the making of sacrifices for the emperor's health when they had become quite pointless.

Finally we must consider whether, supposing the *taurobolium* to have been performed in the way described by Prudentius, it is possible that the idea of the transfer of spiritual qualities in the form of regeneration to a third person had already developed. Loisy [6])

[1]) Nos **84, 85**: Dea.

[2]) No. **93** Tegna (184); **109** Lactora (241); Lugdunum: **126** (160); **127** (190); **128** (194); **129** (197).

[3]) Ostia: **38** (251-253); **40** (222-235).

[4]) Tert., *Apol.*, 25, 5.

[5]) Not one of the taurobolia known to us was performed on the 24th of March. The dates recorded are as follows: 1 Feb.: **27** Rome (387); 26 Feb.: **18** Rome (295); 12 March: **24** Rome (377); 25 March: **74** *Corduba* (238); 5 April: **14, 15** Rome (383); 9 April: **54** Beneventum (228); 14 April: **11** Rome (305); 15 April: **20** Rome (313); 19 April: **21** Rome (319); 20 to 23 April: **93** Tegna (184); 29 April: **12** Rome (350); 4 to 7 May: **129** Lugdunum (197); 9 to 11 May: **128** Lugdunum (194); 15 May: **37** Ostia (199); 23 May: **16, 25** Rome (390); 27 May: **6** Athens (387); 16 June: **127** Lugdunum (190); **22** Rome (370); 19 July: **13, 34** Rome (374); 22 July: **58** Beneventum (228); 13 August: **17, 23** Rome (376); 30 Sept.: **83** Dea Voc. (245); 18 Oct.: **104, 105, 106** Lactora (176); 20 Nov.: **10** Forum Popilii (186); 26 Nov.: **53** Teate (235); 8 Dec.: **109** to **117** Lactora (241); 9 Dec.: **126** Lugdunum (160).

We suggest that there was no fixed date for the celebration of a *taurobolium*. Various attempts have been made to find reasons for the choice of this or that date. R. Etienne (*La chronologie des autels tauroboliques de Lectoure* in *Gascogne / Gersoise, archéologie-histoire-économie, Actes des XIIme et XVme Congrès d'études régionales tenus à Lectoure les 1, 2 et 3 mai 1951*), tried to find an explanation for the dates of the inscriptions from Lectoure—18 October and 8 December—but the results of his investigation were, as he himself confessed, completely negative. He expressed the hope that an investigation of all the dates would yield more tangible results. Unfortunately it has not done so, and it is impossible to find any guiding principle in the dates known to us.

[6]) Loisy, 115-116; 113; 267-268.

refers to a passage from St. Paul [1]) in which he mentions Christians who had themselves baptized for the benefit of the deceased members of their families. It will assuredly strike everyone that Loisy has here chosen a rather unfortunate example. On the one hand, the wrong-headedness of interpreting pagan rites by means of Christian customs cannot be too emphatically pointed out, and on the other the two situations are completely different. In the Christian example the dead were not able to receive the rite in person, whereas in the case of the emperor (just supposing that Loisy's idea of the *taurobolium* is correct) there was nothing to prevent his taking part himself in the celebration if he thought it necessary.

It is consequently clear that Réville, Graillot and Loisy have been too much influenced by Christian conceptions that should certainly not be used to explain pagan inscriptions of the second century and first half of the third. The other interpretation, however, does not seem to account for the important place the emperor had in the rite, and the translating of *salus* by 'bodily welfare' can hardly be absolutely correct. For the subject of ancient Rome the emperor was no ordinary human being, but was considered semi-divine even in his life-time. So when someone celebrated a *taurobolium 'pro salute imperatoris'*, we must suppose that it was not so much the personal health of the emperor that he had in mind as his general welfare and that of the empire of which he was the symbol. The expressions *pro salute imperii* and *pro salute imperatoris et statu coloniae* indicate the likelihood of this assumption.

Since, as we have noted above, it would be strange if a dedicator omitted to record that he was performing a *taurobolium 'pro salute imperatoris'*, we are probably justified in assuming that the other *taurobolia* were celebrated for the dedicator's own welfare, although it is strange that we nowhere find an expression such as *pro salute sua* in the inscriptions.

From what was said above it is clear that these conclusions are valid only for the second and third centuries. The *taurobolia* of the

[1]) Corinth 1, 15, 29.

fourth century have a completely different terminology, and for them we must consult the literary texts of that period. From the *Carmen contra paganos* [1]) and Prudentius [2]) we can conclude that the dedicators desired to be purified by receiving the *taurobolium*. This point will discussed at greater length below.

From the argument so far one would naturally think that there were two differing types of *taurobolium* that must be distinguished —the *taurobolia pro salute* which were sacrifices performed on behalf of the emperor, and the other *taurobolia*. However in our study of the verbs this impression will be corrected and we shall also find a more trustworthy criterion.

However before we begin the study of this very important element in the inscriptions, I should like to consider the words *vires* and *cernus* that appear in the inscriptions—though not very frequently.[3]) *Vires* has been interpreted in the most various ways, and as early as 1702 Van Dale summarized the meanings that have been given to it: "*vires conditae de testiculis capiendae sunt, vires exceptae in sanguine consistebant, de cornibus vires consecratas interpretari possumus*".[4]) As one can ascertain, Van Dale interpreted this word according to the accompanying verb. De Boissieu,[5]) on the other hand, was of the opinion that this word whenever it appeared denoted all the strength and potency of the animal: genitals, blood and horns together. Most scholars adopted one of these two explanations. Allmer [6]) translated it "l'ossature" (bones). He found

[1]) vs. 62 *vivere num speras viginti mundus in annos.*

[2]) *Perist. X,* 1049-1050: *vilis quod illum sanguis et bos mortuus / foedis latentem sub cavernis laverint.*

[3]) Taurini: **8-9**: *viribus aeterni taurobolio.*
Dea: **83** (245) *loco vires conditae.*
Lactora: **120, 123** *vires consecravit.*
Burdigala: **124** *natalici viribus.*
Lugdunum: **126** *vires excepit, a vaticano transtulit.*
Mactar: **60** (276-284); **61** (285-293); **62**: *perfectis vitae cernorum crioboli et tauroboli.*
Utica: **68** (235-238) *acceptis cerno et criobolio de suo.*
Rome: **21** (319) *taurobolium criobolium caerno perceptum.*

[4]) A. Van Dale, *Dissertationes IX antiquitatibus quin et marmoribus cum Romanis tum potissiumum Graecis illustrandis inservientes.* Amstelodami 1702, I, *De origine et ritibus sacri taurobolii.*

[5]) De Boissieu, 25-26. [6]) Allmer, 23-24.

this the only interpretation that made sense with the verbs *excipere* and *consecrare*. It was the expression *a vaticano transtulit* [1]) that in particular led him to favour this explanation. He thought it inconceivable that the genitals of a victim should be taken from Rome to Lugdunum, since they would assuredly begin to decompose on the way. Espérandieu [2]) also supports this interpretation. Lavergne,[3]) on the other hand, considers that *vires excipere* and *taurobolium accipere* have the same meaning and that by *vires* is meant the blood that poured down onto the dedicator in the pit.

However the generally accepted interpretation is genitals; we find it as early as de Boze [4]) and Chaudruc de Crazannes [5]). Allmer's objections lose their force if we assume that *Vaticanum* is here used not of the hill at Rome but of a local one. This need not seem unlikely when we remember that an inscription from Kastel [6]) also mentions a *Vaticanum*. Moreover it is difficult to see why the verbs *excipere* and *consecrare* could not be applied to the genitals. Lavergne's interpretation is refuted by the fact that *vires* is found only in inscriptions that can be dated before 250, while the ceremony of the dedicator in the pit made its first appearance in the fourth century. As positive indications for the meaning genitals we may mention the important place taken by the emasculation of the *Galli* in the cult of the Great Mother, and the myth of Attis in which it is also mentioned. Without assuming that the rite with the *vires* was substituted for the castration of the dedicator, it seems very probable that in the cult of Cybele the genitals were given a very special role. This would explain why in this rite the genitals, and not as with other cults the *exta*, were accorded special treatment.

It has almost become the general opinion that the *vires* were put

[1]) No. **126**.
[2]) Espérandieu, *Lectoure*, 33-36; 107-110.
[3]) Lavergne, 507.
[4]) Quoted by Graillot, 571 in bibliography.
[5]) Crazannes, 133.
[6]) CIL XVII, 7281 A.D. 286: *In honorem domus divinae, deae Virtuti Bellonae montem Vaticanum vestustate conlabsum restituerunt hastiferi civitatis Mattiacorum.*

in the *cernus*.[1]) However the inscriptions show plainly that this did not occur. Not a single inscription mentions *vires* and *cernus* together. This fact does not, of course, by itself constitute a sufficient proof, since it could be said that the inscriptions are brief and that the mention of *vires* implies *cernus* and *vice versa*. This objection can be countered by pointing out that it is just the inscriptions that mention *vires* that are the most detailed and tell us most about what was done with them, and that in these inscriptions there is not a word about the *cernus*. This seems to us conclusive proof that the *cernus* had nothing to do with the *vires*.

In addition (and this is the most important point) we should note that the *vires* and the *cernus* do not occur in inscriptions of the same period, but each of them belongs to a particular phase in the development of the rite. If our classification is sound then that means that it is impossible that there can have been any connexion between *vires* and *cernus*. The '*vires* inscriptions' inform us that these genitals were removed (*excipere*), dedicated (*consecrare*), and finally buried (*considere*)—this last probably in the spot where the memorial stone was afterwards erected.

It is not clear whether the *vires* in the inscriptions from Burdigala and Taurini also have the meaning of genitals. The Burdigala inscription may indeed have nothing to do with a *taurobolium* at all, and its *vires* may mean *Iunones* (the feminine of *Genius*). We shall return to this point later.[2]) The *vires* of the *Taurini* inscriptions also have an uncertain meaning, since in Cisalpine Gaul we find a large number of inscriptions that are dedicated to the *Vires* —where the *Vires* are abstract divinities.[3])

In the case of the *cernus* we must make a distinction between its occurrence in the *taurobolium* inscriptions and in other contexts. The former give us no clue to the nature of this object. From the other sources we can gather various indications that do not,

[1]) Zippel, 509-511; Graillot, 155-156; Loisy, 111; Lagrange, *christ.*, 467-470; Pettazzoni, 107-108; Gressmann, 91-110; Dey, 69; Hepding, 193; Le Gall, 119-127; Nilsson, 652-653; Oppermann, 17.

[2]) See p. 106.

[3]) C. B. Pascal, *The Cults of Cisalpine Gaul*, Bruxelles 1964, 33-35; 51.

however, always agree one with another. One series of texts [1]) describe it as a jug surrounded by cups; but it is only in Hesychius [2]) that such a *cernus* is connected with the cult of Cybele. Other texts speak of the *cernus* as a special sort of lamp,[3]) but here again there is only one text [4]) that puts this object in the context of her rite. — In two other inscriptions,[5]) however, we do find a *cernophora matris deum* — Then in Alexander Aetolus [6]) we find mention of a κερνᾶς (i.e. *cernophorus*) together with other ministers of the cult of the Great Mother. And finally Clement of Alexandria,[7]) in a discussion of the Cybele cult, mentions the formula ἐκερνοφόρησα as a mark of these mysteries. This same formula is taken over by a Platonic scholiast.[8])

From these rather contradictory scraps of information we can at once draw the following conclusions: 1. *cernophoria* occurs as a technical term only in connexion with the cult of Cybele; 2. the texts that mention the *cernus* can be divided into two groups: those that concern a sort of jug, and those that speak of a lamp; 3. a second distinction can be made between those texts that connect this object with the cult of Cybele and those that do not.

This lack of unanimity prevents us from seeing a well-defined object in the *cernus*. One receives the impression that ritual articles of the most various nature could be referred to by this word. When some objects that more or less answered to Polemon's description of the *cernus* were dug up in Eleusis, all other similar objects found elsewhere were also given this name.[9]) As a result of the find

[1]) Polemon quoted by Athenaios, Δειπνοσοφισταί XI, 478 c; Ammonios Lamptreus, *ibid.*, 476 c; Hesychios *s.v.* κέρνεα.
[2]) *s.v.* κέρνεα.
[3]) Eutecnios, μετάφρασις ἀλεξιφαρμάκων 217-219; Pollux IV, 103.
[4]) Eutecnios.
[5]) CIL II, 179; X, 1803.
[6]) *Epigr. in Alcm.*, (*Anthol. Palat.*, VII 709).
[7]) *Protrept.*, 2, 15.
[8]) *ad Gorg.*, 497 C.
[9]) P. Cintas, *La kernophoria à Carthage* in *CRAI* 1949, 115-119. Ch. Picard, *Les religions préhelléniques*, Paris 1948, 68; 69; 99; 134; 146-147; 149; 178; 208-209; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, I, München 1955², 128; 270-271; 726; F. Upson, *The kernos in ancient cult, Dissertation for the degree of PH.D.* 1941-42 (*degree of Classical Archaeology at Harvard University*). Thanks to the kindness of M. J. Vermaseren

at Eleusis it came to be believed that this object was also used in the cult of Demeter. This idea was opposed by Pringsheim,[1]) who denied any connexion between the *cernus* the archaeologists had found and the one mentioned in the texts. Without adopting so extreme a standpoint we nevertheless think it prudent to make a distinction between the two. It seems very likely that the *cernus* could have various forms and functions according to the rite in which it was used. At any rate, in our discussion of the *cernus* in the *taurobolium*, to which we shall come shortly, we have not allowed ourselves to be too much tied by the varying descriptions of this object that are found in the literary texts.

and LeRoy A. Campbell I was able to consult this work, which does not, however, say anything about the *cernus* in the *taurobolium*.

[1]) H. G. Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Eleusinischen Kults*, München 1905, 69-78.

II. THE VERB

The fact that our opinions on the *taurobolium* are in many respects different from those of other scholars is mainly due to our having given central importance to the verb in the investigation of the inscriptions. The establishment of the existence of a definite evolution in the use of the verbs has shown that the word *taurobolium* was not always used to refer to the same rite. And so what remained a mere suspicion in our exposition of the inscriptional evidence concerning the costs, the motive and the intention, will in this chapter be revealed as indisputably established, and by a careful analysis of the chronological order of these verbs we shall sketch the probable course of the evolution of the rite.

Is the important place that is here given to the consideration of the verb justified? We think that it is, and for two reasons. Firstly, it is reasonable to assume that the essence of the rite is concentrated in the verbs. The other parts of speech do indeed supply us with valuable information, but in reality are concerned with matters of minor importance; the verb however is in the last analysis a summary of the course of the celebration. If a new verb suddenly puts in an appearance, we may then assume that this is due to a change in the rite that must be adequately described.

A second reason for assigning an important place to a consideration of the verbs is that in such an investigation almost all the inscriptions can be included. This is not so with the costs, the motives and the intentions.

In this chapter the verbs will be studied by themselves (taking into account their geographical and chronological situation), and the meanings they have when used in connexion with the *taurobolium* will be elucidated. For this latter purpose it will sometimes be necessary to include the words accompanying the verbs in the investigation. This chapter, like the preceding one, is mainly analytical. In Part III a synthesis based on the conclusions drawn in these two chapters will be attempted.

A distinction is to be drawn between two groups of verbs which

we shall call primary and secondary verbs. The primary verbs are those that have the word *taurobolium* as object or whose past participle passive is found agreeing with that noun; such verbs are *facere, accipere, percipere, tradere, celebrare* and *movere*. The secondary verbs *astare, ministrare, curare, praeire*, etc., on the other hand, never have *taurobolium* as object and usually occur in an ablative absolute.

This chapter, which contains the information basic to our conception of the *taurobolium*, is largely an exposition of the following table, in which the datable inscriptions are listed in chronological order together with the verbs that each contains.

83 of the 133 inscriptions can be assigned a date. In many cases the inscription itself includes the date, and in others the name of the emperor to whom the *taurobolium* was dedicated enables us to say approximately when the rite was performed.

The inscriptions that cannot be dated from their contents are: **7, 8, 9, 30, 33, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 51, 55, 56, 59, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68?, 69, 70, 72, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 88, 89, 91, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 131** and **133.**

Of these inscriptions eight can be approximately dated archaeologically. They are **51, 69, 70, 81, 82** and **131**, which may be assigned to the second century, and **98** and **99** from the third.

Below is the list of the datable inscriptions. In this list, T. = taurobolium; P.S. = pro salute; C. = criobolium. The words in square brackets are restorations.

No.	date	place	main terms	additional terms
2.	*c.* 135 B.C.	Pergamon	ποιῆσαι κριοβόλια	
1.	1st cent. B.C.	Ilion	ἐπιτελέω ταυροβόλια	
4.	1st cent. B.C.	Pinara	δίδωμι ταυροβόλια	
3.	A.D. 105	Pergamon	ταύρου ἐπιτυθησομένου	
50.	134	Puteoli	*T., ecitium, pantelium*	*inperio deae*
126.	160	Lugdunum	*T. facere P.S.*	*vires* *ex imperio matris deum* *suo impendio*
35.	169-175	Ostia	*T. [facere] P.S.*	
36.	*c.* 169-175	Ostia	*C. facere P.S.*	

No.	date	place	main terms	additional terms
103.	before 176	Lactora	*T. facere*	
104.	176	Lactora	*T. facere*	*hostis suis*
105.	176	Lactora	*T. facere*	*hostis suis*
106.	*c.* 176	Lactora	*T. facere*	
107.	*c.* 176	Lactora	*T. facere*	*hostis suis*
108.	*c.* 176	Lactora	*T. facere*	*hostis suis*
93.	184	Tegna	*T. facere P.S.*	*ex vaticinatione*
87.	185-193	Arausio	*T. facere P.S.*	
10.	186	Forum Popilii	*T. facere*	
127.	190	Lugdunum	*T. facere P.S.*	*ex vaticinatione impendium arae remisit*
128.	194	Lugdunum	*T. facere P.S.*	*ex voto*
129.	197	Lugdunum	*T. facere P.S.*	*ex voto*
96.	198-209	Narbo	*T. facere P.S.*	*imperio D.M.*
86.	198-209	Dea	*T. facere P.S.*	
92.	198-209	Valencia	*T.* + *C. facere P.S.*	
37.	199	Ostia	*T. facere*	
132.	199	Divodurum	*aram T*;	*ob natalicium ex iussu aram reficiendam curavit*
67.	200-205	Carthago	*T.* [*facere*] *P.S.*	
130.	*c.* 200	Lugdunum	*T.* [*facere P.S.*]	
48.	*c.* 204	Gabii	*T. movit*	
46.	212	Lavinium	*T.*	
54.	228	Beneventum	*C. facere*	*iussu M.D. tradentibus augure et sacerdotibus*
57.	*c.* 228	Beneventum	*T. traditum a*	*sacerdote*
58.	*c.* 228	Beneventum	*T. traditum a*	*sacerdote*
73.	222-235	Tipasa	*C.*+*T. . . . didit P.S.*	
71.	222-235	Milev	*C. fecerunt et ipsi susceperunt P.S.*	
40.	222-235	Ostia	*T.* or *C. facere P.S.*	
75.	234	Corduba	*T. fecit, suscepit chrionis P.S.*	
76.	234	Corduba	[*T. fecit, suscepit chrionis P.S.*]	
53.	235	Teate	*C.* + *aemobolium movit*	*de suo*
52.	235-238	Teate	*T. movit P.S.*	*de suo*
68.	235-238?	Utica	*cerno et criobolio acceptis P.S.*	*de suo tradentibus sacerdotibus*
74.	238	Corduba	*T. fecit, suscepit crionis P.S.*	*ex iussu*
49.	241	Formiae	*T.*	
109.	241	Lactora	*T. facere P.S.*	

No.	date	place	main terms	additional terms
110.	241	Lactora	*T. accipere*	*hostis suis*
111.	241	Lactora	*T. accipere*	*hostis suis*
112.	241	Lactora	*T. accipere*	*hostis suis*
113.	241	Lactora	*T. accipere*	*hostis suis*
114.	241	Lactora	*T. accipere*	*hostis suis*
115.	241	Lactora	*T. accipere*	*hostis suis*
116.	241	Lactora	*T. accipere*	*hostis suis*
117.	241	Lactora	*T. accipere*	*hostis suis*
83.	245	Dea	*sacrum tribus tauris facere P.S.*	*cum suis hostis loco vires conditae*
90.	245	Caveirac	*T.* + *C.* . . . *P.S.*	
38.	251-253	Ostia	*T.* [*facere*] *P.S.*	
65.	255-259	Carthago	. . . . . *P.S.*	
97.	263?	Narbo		*ex* [*imperio*?]
60.	276-284	Mactar	*perfectis sacris cernorum C.* + *T. P.S.*	*tradentibus sacerdotibus*
61.	285-293	Mactar	the same as 40	the same as 40
18.	295	Roma	*T.* + *C. facere*	
19.	295	Roma	*T.* + *C. facere*	*ex voto*
11.	305	Roma	*T. percipere*	
20	313	Roma	*T. facere*	
21.	319	Roma	*T.* + *C. cerno perceptum*	
12.	350	Roma	*T. conficere*	
22.	370	Roma	*T.* + *C. percepto*	τελετῆς K. + T. μυστίπολος
29.	*c.* 370	Roma	*tauroboliata*	
44.	*c.* 370	Ostia	*tauroboliatus*	
13.	374	Roma	*T.* + *C. perficere*	
34.	374	Roma	*T.* + *C. percipere*	
17.	376	Roma	*T.* + *C. percipere*	
23.	376	Roma	*T.* + *C. in aeternum renatus*	
24.	377	Roma	*tauroboliatus*	
31.	377	Roma	σύνβολον εὐαγέων τελετῶν ἀνέθηκα	
26.	380	Roma	*tauroboliatus*	
32.	*c.* 380	Roma	*tauroboliatus*	
14.	383	Roma	*T.* + *C. percipere*	
15.	383	Roma	*T.* + *C. repetere*	
28.	384	Roma	*tauroboliatus*	
47.	385	Antium	*tauroboliatus*	
27.	387	Roma	*tauroboliatus*	
5.	before 387	Athenae	χαράξας συνθήματα κρυπτα T.	
6.	387	Athenae	T. ἐτελέσθη	
16.	390	Roma	*T.* + *C. percipere*	
25.	390	Roma	*iterato aram T. constituit*	

From this list we can immediately draw the following conclusions. *Facere* occurs in inscriptions from 160 till 313, or perhaps it would be better to say from 160 till 250 (leaving the inscriptions from Rome out of consideration[1])). *Movere* falls chronologically within the *facere* period. *Accipere* is found in 235-238 and in 241; *tradere* from 235-238 till 319; *suscipere* about 240; and *percipere* only in the fourth century. And so the inscriptions containing *facere* and those with *percipere* form two distinct groups. The first series runs from 160 till 250, and the second from 305 till 390. *Movere* and *sancire* appear in the *facere* period, and *repetere* and *conficere* in that of *percipere*. Outside these clearly distinguished groups there are verbs such as *tradere* and *accipere* that appear in inscriptions between 228 and 319 and thus occupy an intermediate position. It is not immediately clear into which class such a verb as *suscipere* should be put.

It is not easy to determine the meaning of *facere* [2]) in the context of the *taurobolium*, since this word can mean almost anything—as can be verified by a glance at the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.[3]) The phrase *taurobolium facere* is there included under the heading of *quae quomodocumque fiunt*: *opera religiosa ad cultum pertinentia*,

[1]) Nos. **18, 19, 20**.

[2]) Iberian Peninsula: **77** Ossonoba (—); **74** Corduba (238); **75** Corduba. (234)
Africa: **69, 70** Thibilis (—); **71** Milev (222-235).
Alpes Maritimae: **80** Vintium (—).
Gallia Narb.: **82** Reii (—); **87** Arausio (185-193); **88** Vasio (—); **83** Dea Voc. (245); **84, 85** Dea Voc. (—); **86** Dea Voc. (198-207); **91** Valentia (—); **92** Valentia (198-209); **93** Tegna (184); **89** Alba Helviorum (—); **95, 99,** Narbo (—); **96** Narbo (198-209).
Aquitania: **103** Lactora (before 176); **104, 105, 106** Lactora (176); **107, 108** Lactora (*c.* 176); **109** Lactora (241); **118, 120, 121, 122, 123** Lactora (—).
Gallia Lugd.: *Lugdunum*: **126** (160); **127** (190); **128** (194); **129** (197).
Latium Vetus: Ostia: **35** (169-175); **36** (*c.* 169-175); **37** (199); **38** (251-253); **39, 42, 43** (—); **40** (222-235).
Regio I: Rufrae: **51** (—).
Regio II: Beneventum: **54** (228); **56** (*c.* 228).
Regio VIII: Forum Popilii: **10** (186).
Rome: **18** (295); **19** (*c.* 295); **20** (313).

[3]) Th.L.L., VI, Lipsiae, 1912-1926. 26: 19.

which does not help us very much. Zippel [1]) had already noted that the uses of this verb are too various for us to be able to deduce anything precise about the *taurobolium* from it. Chaudruc de Crazannes [2]) was of the opinion that the meaning of *facere* varied according to the number of people involved in the ceremony. If one person is mentioned, then *facere* is merely a synonym for *accipere*. But if the inscription records a group of dedicators, *facere* should be rendered by 'to have (a *taurobolium*) performed'. Graillot [3]) however would define it as 'celebrate at his own expense and receive'.

It should now be clear that we can puzzle about *facere* in isolation indefinitely and still not reach any definite conclusion. In consequence we must include in our investigation those words that are found with *facere* in the inscriptions. These *taurobolia facta* were, as we have already shown; performed *ex iussu matris deum, ex vaticinatione archigalli,* and *ex voto*; *ex stipe conlata, suo impendio, sua pecunia,* and *hostis suis*. Sometimes they were intended as a demonstration of loyalty towards the emperor, in other instances we may suppose, as we have seen, that they were performed for the benefit of the dedicator himself.

Such *taurobolia* could have either single individuals or whole communities as dedicators.[4]) All these additional phrases show clearly, it seems to us, that the *taurobolia* about which they give further information were sacrifices. And we can therefore conclude that the probable meaning of *facere* in the inscriptions was 'have a sacrifice performed'. The premetroac inscriptions furnish additional support for this interpretation, since they are very like those of

[1]) Zippel, 504-505.
[2]) Crazannes, 128; 130.
[3]) Graillot, 166, n. 2.
[4]) No. **86** Dea Voc. (198-209) *Res. Publica Voc.*
No. **91** Valentia — *dendrophori Valentini*
No. **94** Narbo — *Narbonenses celebrarunt publice*
No. **96** Narbo (198-209) *tauropolium provinciae Narbonensis*
No. **102** Narbo — *tauropolium provinciae*
No. **109** Lactora 241 *ordo Lactoratium*
No. **118** Lactora — *R.P. Lact.*
No. **127** Lugdunum 190 *dendrophori Lugd.*

the *facere* period and contain obvious references to sacrificial rites, e.g. ἐπιθύειν [1]) and καλλιερεῖν.[2]) A few of the *taurobolium* inscriptions with *facere* contain the word *sacrum*, which may be taken as another pointer in the same direction;[3]) the phrase *sacrum tribus tauris cum suis hostis et apparamentis* would indeed seem to exclude all other interpretations.

The verb *movere* [4]) probably has the same meaning. It occurs in three inscriptions from Italy that can be dated 204, 235 and *c.* 235, and in three from Africa. Two of the latter have *movere* together with *facere*, and the third contains the verb *sancire*. This word is found in this inscription from Diana Veteranorum only and does not give us any clue as to the nature of the ceremony.[5]) According to Zippel [6]) *movere* refers to the *vires* and means that these were carried round in procession. There is however not a single inscription that connects *movere* with the *vires*, and this in spite of the fact that we are usually informed in some detail about what was done with them. We may therefore infer that *movere* had nothing to do with the *vires*. Gsell [7]) translates *movere* by 'undertake a sacrifice', a rendering proposed by Graillot,[8]) and which we find likely because *movere* often has a similar meaning in other circumstances.[9]) And finally we should note that this verb occurs sometimes with *facere* and always within the *facere* period.

[1]) No. **3** (*c.* A.D. 105).
[2]) No. **2** (*c.* 135 B.C.).
[3]) No. **81** Reii (2nd cent.) *ob sacrum tauropoli.*
No. **83** Dea (245) *sacrum tribus tauris cum suis hostis et apparamentis omnibus.*
[4]) Thibilis: **69, 70**: *movit et fecit*; Diana Vet. **72**: *taurob. motum sancit*; Gabii: **48** (*c.* 204); Teate: **52** (235-238), **53** (235).
[5]) See Gsell, 262, who refers to Serv., *In Aen.*, XII, 200: *proprie est sanctum aliquid: id est consecratum facere, fuso sanguine hostiae, et dictum sanctum quasi sanguine consecratum.*
[6]) Zippel, 508-509.
[7]) Gsell, 262.
[8]) Graillot, 166, n. 2.
[9]) See Val. Flacc., 3, 232 and 540 *sacra moveri*; Servius, *In Aen.*, IV, 301: *commotis excita sacris*; *verbo antiquo usum tradunt, moveri enim sacra dicebantur, cum solemnibus diebus aperiebantur templa instaurandi sacrificii causa*; Scholia on Statius, *Theb.*, III, 450: *moveri sacra dicuntur cum coeperint inchoare.*

Another verb that indicates some sort of sacrifice is *celebrare.*[1]) The expressions *ex stipe conlata* and *publice,* which appear in the inscriptions with it, have the same implication, as does *indictum* [2]) on the single occasion it is found with this verb.

In *suscipere* [3]) we are again faced with a problem, since this verb can have two totally different meanings, 'undertake' [4]) and 'receive'. [5]) It is at once obvious that the first meaning places *suscipere* in the same group as *facere, movere* and *celebrare,* and the second makes it a synonym of *accipere* and *percipere.* The information that can be extracted from the inscriptions containing *suscipere* is not sufficient for us to be able to make a definite decision about its meaning, since the period 222-238 is the very time when *accipere* was replacing *facere.* However the phrases that are found with it —*pro salute, ex vaticinatione archigalli,* and *iussu matris deum*— as well as its occurring together with *facere* make the meaning 'undertake the expense of' seem the more likely.

In the damaged inscription No. **73** we find . . . *didit.* It is impossible to say what word was originally written there.

Accipere,[6]) *percipere* [7]), and *tradere* [8]) can be quickly disposed of. The first two mean 'receive' and the third 'hand over'. The words *accipere* and *percipere* incline us in the first place to think of the rite as described by Prudentius. In the case of *percipere* there can be no objection to this, since the literary texts date from the same period, but between the appearance of *accipere* and Prudentius

[1]) No. **80** Vintium (—) *tauropolium suo suptu celebraverunt*; **94** *Narbo* (—) *taurobolium indictum ex stipe conlata celebrarunt publice Narbonenses.*
[2]) Th.L.L., VIII, Lipsiae 1935, 1156-1159, where the meanings are given as *publice enuntiare, varias actiones publicas vel certe communes invitare.*
[3]) No. **74** Corduba (238) *taurob. fecit, suscepit crionis.*
No. **75** Corduba (234) *taurob. fecit, suscepit chrionis.*
No. **71** Milev (222-235) *criobolium fecerunt et ipsi susceperunt.*
[4]) Cic., *Vatin.,* 14; Liv., 5, 52, 6; Plaut., *Amph.,* 230.
[5]) Verg., *Aen.,* 6, 249.
[6]) No. **68** Utica (235-238) *cerno et criobolio de suo acceptis.*
No. **98** Narbo (—) *taurobolium imperio accepit.*
Nos **110** to **117, 119** Lactora (241) *taurobolium accepit.*
[7]) Rome: **11** (305), **14** (383), **16** (390), **17** (376), **21** (319), **22** (370), **34** (374).
[8]) Mactar: **60** (276-284), **61** (285-293); *Utica*: **68** (235-238).
Beneventum: **54** (228), **56, 58** (*c.* 228); Rome: **21** (319).

there is more than a century, so that we must see whether the rest of the phraseology of the *accipere* inscriptions tallies with his description before we can settle their relationship. This will be done in the following chapter, but we can here record the fact that with a single exception all eleven occurences of *accipere* are from Southern Gaul—nine from Lactora, one from Narbo, and the non-Gallic one from Utica. They can all be dated about 240 (241 for Lactora and 235-238 for Utica). *Percipere* occurs in inscriptions at Rome from 305 till 390. Those inscriptions in which the word *tauroboliatus* is found [1]) may be put in one group with those that contain *percipere*, as we can see from inscriptions Nos **26, 32** and **34**, all of which mention a certain Kamenius. In Nos **26** and **32** he is referred to as *tauroboliatus*, and in No. **34**, concerning this same person, we read *percepto taurobolio criobolioque*. The fact that the inscriptions with *tauroboliatus* and those with *percepit taurobolium* date from the same period (370-387) is confirmation for this identification of the two expressions.

Such verbs as *perficere* [2]) and *conficere* [3]) obviously indicate a complicated rite, but unfortunately tell us nothing about its nature, so that once again we must seek help in the accompanying words. It would not be safe to say at once that since these two verbs are compounds of *facere* they are used of the same sort of *taurobolia* as it is.

The meaning of *repetere* [4]) is, of course, repeat. We shall discuss the implications of the use of this word in the *taurobolium* inscriptions further on.

The verbs of the premetroac inscriptions in Greek will be considered in the chapter on the origin of the ceremony. In the other Greek inscriptions we find the verb τελεῖν,[5]) which is once again a word of such general meaning that it does not give us any information

[1]) Carthage: **64** (—), **66** (—); Rome: **24** (377), **26** (380), **27** (387), **28** (384), **29** (*c.* 370), **32** (*c.* 380); Brundisium: **59** (—); Ostia: **44** (370), **45** (—); Antium: **47** (385).
[2]) Mactar: **60** (276-284), **61** (285-293); Rome: **13** (374).
[3]) Rome: **12** (350).
[4]) Rome: **15** (383).
[5]) No. **5** Athens (before A.D. 387); **6** Athens (387).

about exactly what went on. Παραλαμβάνειν [1]) on the other hand may be considered as the Greek equivalent of *percipere*.

The secondary verbs are mainly concerned with those who were present at the celebration of the *taurobolium* and played a more or less active role. They include *adstare*,[2]) *ministrare*,[3]) *curare*,[4]) *adsistere*,[5]) and *praesens*.[6]) What the other people did exactly cannot be deduced from these verbs. *Praeire* [7]) is interpreted in two different ways [8])—either 'lead the procession in which the *vires* were carried' or 'keep watch to see that the rite was celebrated in strict accordance with the regulations'. The latter seems the more probable. *Praeire* occurs in only one inscription [9]) where the *vires* are mentioned, but there is not a word about the two being connected.

In a large number of inscriptions we find the name of the priest supplied in the ablative.[10]) This is probably the priest who was in charge of the celebration, the verb *praeire* being omitted. In the case of the inscriptions from Lactora containing the word *accipere* it seems likely that *sacerdote* means more or less the same as *tradente sacerdote*, that is, provided that our hypothesis concerning the nature of the *taurobolium* in its second period is sound.

[1]) No. **6** Athens (387).
[2]) Corduba: **75, 76** (234); Utica: **68** (235-238); Ostia: **41** (—).
[3]) No. **68** Utica (235-238).
[4]) No. **109** Lactora (241).
[5]) No. **83** Dea (245).
[6]) No. **21** Rome (319).
[7]) No. **54** Beneventum (228) *facere*.
No. **56** Beneventum (—) *facere*.
No. **83** Dea (245) *facere p.s.*
No. **88** Vasio (—) *facere p.s.*
No. **90** Caveirac (245) *facere p.s.*
No. **93** Tegna (184) *facere p.s.*
No. **128** Lugdunum (194) *facere p.s.*
No. **129** Lugdunum (197) *facere p.s.*
[8]) Zippel, 506; Espérandieu, 117.
[9]) No. **83** Dea (245).
[10]) *Sacerdote* (or *sacerdotibus*): **74, 79, 85, 86, 95, 99, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 127, 129.**
per sacerdotem (or *sacerdotes*) : **21, 37, 71.**
per primum flaminem : **96.**

PART III

THE EVOLUTION OF THE TAUROBOLIUM

INTRODUCTION

In the second, analytical, part we considered one after another the elements of which the normal *taurobolium* inscription is composed—the dedication, the name, the costs, the motive, and the intention. The use of various verbs in the inscriptions was also investigated. In the case of each of these elements we have examined their possible meanings as well as their distribution and period of occurrence. As a result of this analysis it has already become plain that the terminology used in the inscriptions is so various that we cannot construct a paradigm of a 'normal' *taurobolium* inscription. On the other hand there are, in spite of these differences, certain groups that contain more or less similar terms, so that if we can fix on satisfactory criteria for classifying the inscriptions, we shall be able to reduce the evidence to a more manageable state.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the discussion in the previous section have led us to choose the verb as the basis for our classification. In the next few pages we shall attempt to justify this decision, which is of the greatest importance for the whole trend of our inquiry. It was above all the chronological list of terms used that influenced us, but if we set this aside for a moment and consider the fact that in just about every *taurobolium* inscription the nature of the ceremony is expressed by the word *taurobolium* together with one of a number of different verbs, it is obvious that the verb supplies a possible criterion of classification. It is after all in the verb that the rite is most nearly defined, so that it would seem reasonable to regard two inscriptions containing verbs of different meaning as referring to two unlike ceremonies.

This assumption, which has no demonstrable basis except in common sense, finds striking support in the chronological list of terms. For here we can see that verbs were not used at random, but that the employment of this one or that one is governed by

the date of the inscription. And so we find successively *facere*, *accipere*, *tradere*, and *percipere*, each with its own period of use. A more detailed examination of the evidence reveals that *accipere* and *tradere* are complementary, and that they express a different aspect of an identical act. The other primary verbs that are of less frequent occurrence can be connected with one of these four either because of a similarity of meaning or because of the period in which they are used. *Movere*, *celebrare*, and *sancire* belong to the first class, while *repetere* and *conficere*, which are found in the *percipere* period, may be assigned to the second.

We have therefore three groups of inscriptions—those that contain *facere* or words of similar meaning; those with *accipere* and *tradere*; and those with *percipere* or *tauroboliatus*. The first group contains inscriptions that date from 160-250 (leaving out of consideration the *facere* inscriptions from Rome, which will be dealt with separately); the second those of the period 228-319; and the third those of 305-390.

This chronological sequence brings to light a most important fact that supports the choice of the verb as basis for our classification—each category of inscriptions has a period of its own, so that we can speak of three distinct phases in the (verbal) terminology of the inscriptions. So, in accordance with the axiom we mentioned earlier, it is also possible to speak of phases in the evolution of the *taurobolium* itself.

It is obvious that the picture of the *taurobolium* we are sketching here is very different from the usual one. To begin with, we have used the verbs to classify the inscriptions and not the presence or absence of *pro salute*; and as a result of this we have obtained not a number of different *taurobolia* that existed side by side, but an evolving *taurobolium* in which we can distinguish successive phases. If one adopts this explanation of the evidence, it is inevitable that the idea of a rite without a history that was always performed as Prudentius described it about 400 will have to be discarded. It is after all most improbable that gradual but important changes would have taken place in the terminology if there was no reason for them. The only possible reason can have been a change in the ritual.

The superiority of this new classification at once becomes plain if

we consider the usual division of the *taurobolia* into public and private. The main objection to this is that it is based on a subordinate element, viz the occurrence of *pro salute*, that does indeed tell us about the intention but makes us no wiser about the nature of the rite. Moreover this element does not satisfactorily distinguish the public from the private *taurobolia*, even if such a distinction were necessary. This can be seen from the case of the verb *celebrare*, which does refer to a public ceremony but is not accompanied by *pro salute*,[1]) and it is also true of the inscriptions containing *publice*.[2]) However the strongest argument against the classification in public and private *taurobolia* on the basis of the presence of *pro salute* is furnished by an inscription from *Narbo* [3]) that reads *taurobolium indictum ex stipe conlata publice celebrarunt Narbonenses*. Now everyone would agree that if ever there was a public *taurobolium* this must have been it—but, once again *pro salute* is missing.

Finally, the result of classifying the inscriptions according to the occurrence of *pro salute* is such that it is quite clear it is an artificial distinction that tells us nothing about the nature of the rite in either category. In the following table this classification has been made.

Verb	number of inscriptions with *pro salute*	number of inscriptions without *pro salute*
facere	20 [4])	21 [5])
facere / suscipere	3 [6])	—
facere / movere	—	2 [7])
movere	1 [8])	2 [9])
movere / sancire	1 [10])	—
celebrare	—	2 [11])
Total in 1st phase	25	27

[1]) Nos **80, 94.** [2]) Nos **94, 120, 123.** [3]) No. **94.**
[4]) Nos **35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93, 96, 109, 118, 126, 127, 128, 129.**
[5]) Nos **10, 18, 19, 20, 37, 51, 77, 89, 91, 95, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 120, 121, 122, 123.**
[6]) Nos **71, 74, 75.** [7]) Nos **69, 70.** [8]) No. **52.**
[9]) Nos **48, 53.** [10]) No. **72.** [11]) Nos **80, 94.**

Verb	number of inscriptions with *pro salute*	number of inscriptions without *pro salute*
facere / tradere	—	2 [1]
tradere	—	2 [2]
tradere / percipere	—	1 [3]
perficere / tradere	3 [4]	—
accipere	1 [5]	10 [6]
Total in 2nd phase	4	15
percipere	—	6 [7]
tauroboliati	—	11 [8]
crioboliati	—	1 [9]
perficere	—	1 [10]
conficere	—	1 [11]
repetere	—	1 [12]
Total in 3rd phase	—	21
inscription with . . . *didit*	1 [13]	—
Total of inscriptions with a Latin verb	30	63
Inscriptions without a Latin verb	5 [14]	30 [15]
Final total	35	93 = 128

We have here taken no account of the premetroac inscriptions [16].

[1]) Nos **54, 56.**
[2]) Nos **57, 58.**
[3]) No. **21.**
[4]) Nos **60, 61, 62.**
[5]) No. **68.**
[6]) Nos **98, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119.**
[7]) Nos **11, 14, 16, 17, 22, 34.**
[8]) Nos **24, 26, 27, 29, 32, 44, 45, 47, 59, 64, 66.**
[9]) No. **78.**
[10]) No. **13.**
[11]) No. **12.**
[12]) No. **15.**
[13]) No. **73.**
[14]) Nos **42, 43, 65, 67, 90.**
[15]) Nos **5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 23, 25, 28, 30, 31, 33, 41, 46, 49, 55, 63, 76, 79, 81, 82, 97, 100, 101, 102, 124, 125, 130, 131, 132, 133.**
[16]) Nos **1, 2, 3, 4, 50.**

This table shows clearly that the classification by verbs produces a far better result than one based on the occurrence of *pro salute*. If we do employ the latter criterion, we shall then have to explain why the public form of the rite could only be described with *facere*. Reasons could probably be found for this peculiarity, but much more difficult would be explaining why the private rite, which the supporters of the *pro salute* classification declare also had a definite character of its own, was referred to with not only *facere*, but also *accipere*, *tradere*, and *percipere*. It is hard to imagine what sort of ceremony it could be that is on the one hand different from the public *taurobolium*, but on the other is referred to with the same verb and can be characterized by such various words as *facere*, *accipere* and *percipere*.

In the first chapter of this synthetical third part we shall consider each stage of the rite separately, with the intention of drawing as detailed a picture as possible of the *taurobolium* in each of its three phases. For each of them the difficulties that confront us are different. For the earliest stage we have inscriptional evidence only, so that it is difficult to visualize the ceremony at all clearly. In the following stage, where once again we have only inscriptions to guide us, the most important questions are whether all these inscriptions refer to the same sort of *taurobolium*, and whether this *taurobolium* is different from the one of the earlier and later stages. For the third stage we fortunately have four literary texts, of which one is very detailed, so that our discussion will be devoted mainly to the intended form of the rite. This evolution naturally took place gradually and the celebration did not take on a completely new aspect overnight.

After this rather static investigation of each phase we shall try in the second chapter to explain the causes of the gradual evolution of the *taurobolium*. This explanation will naturally be largely hypothetical, since none of the texts gives us any indication of the actual course of events.

And finally, in the last chapter the reader will find a discussion of the origins of the rite.

I. THE SUCCESSIVE PHASES OF THE *TAUROBOLIUM*

a. *Taurobolium facere*

Of course all the inscriptions containing *facere* belong to this class. i.e. Nos **10, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 51, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 77, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 99, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128** and **129**.[1]) Since the meaning of *movere* is not so very different from that of *facere*, inscriptions with this verb (Nos **48, 52, 53, 69, 70** and **72**) may also be assigned to this class, likewise those containing *celebrare* (Nos **80** and **94**). If the *vires* that are mentioned in Nos **8, 9** and **124** actually do denote genitals, then these three inscriptions must also be included. And finally there are a number of inscriptions that contain no verb, but which for various reasons may probably be taken to commemorate *taurobolia* that belong to this first phase. They are Nos **90** and **130** (because of date, place, and *pro salute*); **76** (by analogy with other inscriptions from Cordova that mention the same person); **81** and **82** (place); **67** (date and presence of *pro salute*); **132** and **35** (date); and **42** and **43** (pro salute). If we analyse this group of inscriptions, we find that they come from the Iberian Peninsula,[2]) Africa,[3]) Gaul [4]) and Italy.[5])

The list of dedicators [6]) shows that it was mostly unsophisticated

[1]) Nos **18, 19** and **20** which do contain *facere* have here been left out of consideration because of their dates. This applies also to Nos **54** and **56** which since they include *tradere* would seem to belong to the second phase.

[2]) No. **77**. Ossonoba; **74, 75, 76** Corduba.

[3]) No. **67**. Carthage; **72** Diana Vet.; **69, 70** Thibilis; **71** Milev;

[4]) Gallia Narb.: **80** Vintium; **81, 82** Reii; **87** Arausio; **88** Vasio; **83, 84, 85, 86** Dea Voc.; **91, 92** Valentia; **93** Tegna; **89** Alba Helviorum; **90** Caveirac; **94, 95, 96, 99** Narbo; Aquitania: **103** to **109, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123** Lactora; **124** Burdigala.
Gallia Lugdunum: **126-131** Lugdunum.
Belgica: **132** Divodurum.

[5]) Nos **8, 9** Taurini; **10** Forum Popilii; **48** Gabii; **51** Rufrae; **52, 53** *Teate*;

[6]) *No.* *Name* *Function*
8 *Sempronia Eutocia*
9 *P. Ulattius Priscus*

people who had these *taurobolia* performed, although in two cases

No.	*Name*	*Function*
10	*Munatia Reddita*	*sacerdos XV vir (alis)*
35	. . . . .	
36	. . . . .	
37	*Aemilia Serapias*	
38	. . . . .	
39	. . . . .	
40	. . . . .	
42	. . . . .	
43	. . . . .	
48	*Pompeius Rusonianus*	*consularis XV vir sacris faciundis*
51	*Sabidia Cornelia (Titi filia)*	
52	*Petronius Marcellus*	*sacerdos*
53	*Petronius Marcellus*	*sacerdos*
67	. . . . .	
69	*Popilia Maxima (M. filia)*	
70	*P. Sextilius Honoratus*	
71	*Quinti Claudii Basilicus Nap* (? ? ? ?) *et Mnesius*	
72	*Hortensia Fortunata*	*sacerdos*
74	*Publicius Valerius Fortunatus Thalamas* and *Porcia Bassenia*	
75	*Publicius Fortunatus Talamas* and *Coelia Ianuaria*	
76	. . . . .	
77	*L. Agrius Vocatus*	*sacerdos*
80	*Valeria Marciana, Valeria Carmosyne* and *Cassius Paternus*	*sacerdos*
81	*Lucius Decimus Pacatus et Coelia Secundina*	
82	*Iulius Hyacinthus*	*sevir augustalis*
83	*L. Dagiduis Marius et Verullia Martina et Verullia Maria*	*pontif. perpet. civit. Valentiae*
84	*Attius Attiani filius*	
85	*T. Helius Marcellinus et Valeria Decumilla*	
86	*R.P. Voc.*	
87	*Sextus Publicius . . . . anus*	
88	*Aulus Pompeius Avitianus et Claudia Firmina*	
89	*L. Trofimius*	
90	. . . . .	
91	*Dendrophori Valentini*	
92	*C. Valerius Urbanus et . . . .*	*sacerdos*
93	*Q. Aquius Antonianus*	pontif. perpet.

the presence of a *sevir augustalis* [1]) is noted; the number of women involved is remarkable, but not exceptionally so for an oriental religion. We have already drawn attention to the performance of *taurobolia* by associations [2]) and communities [3])—in some cases the rite would be performed on the initiative of a small group of two or three people.[4])

As we have seen, these celebrations took place *ex stipe conlata, hostis suis, sua pecunia,* or *suo impendio,* and the motive could be

No.	*Name*	*Function*
94	*Narbonenses*	
95	*Axia Paulina (C. filia)*	
96	*C. Batonius Primus*	*flamen augustalis*
99	..... *Ursa (Marciani filia)*	
103	*Pompeia Philumene*	
104	*Antonia Prima*	
105	*Aurelia Oppidana*	
106	*Iulia Valentina et Hygia (Silanae serva)*	
107	*Aelia Nice*	
108	*Marciana (Marciani filia)*	
109	*Ordo Lactoratium*	
118	*R.P. Lactoratium*	
120	*Severus (Iuli filius)*	
121	*Severa (Quarti filia)*	
122	*Valentina (Valentis filia)*	
123	*Viator (Sabini filius)*	
124	*Valeria Iullina et Iulia Sancta*	
126	*L. Aemilius Carpus*	*sevir augustalis item dendrophorus*
127	*Dendrophori Luguduni consistentes*	
128	*Aufustia Alexandria et Sergia Parthenope*	
129	*Septicia Valeriana et Optatia Siora*	
130	.....	
132	.....	

[1]) I am at the moment preparing another study, in which the problems connected with the origin, evolution, and purpose of the *seviri, seviri augustales,* and *augustales* will be discussed.

[2]) *dendrophori*: **91** Valentia; **127** Lugdunum; *ordo Lact.*: **109** Lactora;

[3]) *Res publica*: *Vocont.*: **86** Dea; *Lactorat.*: **118** Lactora; *provincia*: **102** Narbo; *Narbonenses*: **94** Narbo.

[4]) Two individuals: **74, 75, 81, 85, 88, 92, 106, 124, 128, 129.**
Three individuals: **80, 83.**

ex vaticinatione archigalli, ex iussu (or *ex imperio*) *Matris deum,* and *ex voto*. The intention was sometimes the welfare of the emperor and sometimes that of the dedicator—the probable interpretation of the absence of *'pro salute'*. We find approximately the same number of inscriptions for each. All this information about costs, motive and intention is peculiar to the inscriptions of the first phase, as is the mention of the *vires* in connexion with the rite. Since this phase is different in so many respects from the succeeding *taurobolia*, it is obvious that we must look upon it as a class quite distinct from those later celebrations that are recorded with little or no mention of such details.

The *taurobolia* of all phases could be repeated. That this is true of the earliest may be seen from inscriptions Nos **52** and **53**, which both commemorate a taurobolium performed by Petronius Marcellus. The differing phraseology shows that it is not the same celebration that is being referred to.[1]) This repetition is merely a continuation of a custom we already find in the case of the premetroac *taurobolia*.[2]) These rites sometimes took up more than one day [3])—the beginning and ending of the ceremonies is expressed by *inchoatum* and *consummatum*—but it is not known whether this was usual, since it is possible that even where the inscriptions make no mention of the fact the celebration may have lasted a number of days.

And so we can conclude that in its first phase the *taurobolium* consisted of the sacrifice of a bull that was distinguished from other such sacrifices by (a) its special name, (b) only occurring in the context of the cult of Cybele, and (c) the rite with the *vires*. In all other respects the *taurobolium* was like similar sacrifices performed in honour of other gods.

b. *taurobolium accipere/tradere*

This class of inscriptions consists of those containing the verbs *accipere* and *tradere*, that is to say Nos **21, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 68, 98, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117** and **119**. To these

[1]) In no. **52** a *taurobolium pro salute* is recorded, and in no. **53** an *aemobolium*.
[2]) No. **1**: ἐπιτελέσαντα δὲ καὶ ταυροβόλια δὶς (1st cent. B.C.).
[3]) No. **93**: 20-23 April 184; **128**: 9-11 May 194; **129**: 4-7 May 197.

can be added No **55,** on analogy with the other inscriptions from Beneventum, and No **62,** because what remains of it is in its phraseology very like two other inscriptions from Mactar that without any shadow of doubt refer to taurobolia of the second phase.

And so the *taurobolia* in this second stage in the evolution of the rite were performed at Rome,[1]) Mactar,[2]) Utica,[3]) Beneventum,[4]) Narbo,[5]) and Lactora.[6]) The social rank [7]) of the dedicators is more or less the same as in the first phase.

In the following list we have a chronological arrangement of the dated inscriptions:

54. Beneventum	228	*ob criobolium factum tradentibus augure et sacerdotibus, praeeunte sacerdote*	

[1]) No. **21.**
[2]) Nos **60, 61, 62.**
[3]) No. **68.**
[4]) Nos **54** to **58.**
[5]) No. **98.**
[6]) Nos **110** to **117, 119.**
[7])

21	. . . . . *Serapias*	*Honesta Femina, sacrata M.D. et Proserpinae*
60	*Q. Arellius Optatianus*	*eques romanus, sacerdos*
61	*Q. Mintonius Fortunatus*	*sacerdos*
62	*P. Valerius . . . tianus*	*sacerdos*
68	*Q. Latinius Victor et Q. Latinius Egregius (filius eius)*	*dendrophori*
54	*Concordia Ianuaria*	*coloniae liberta, cymbalistra*
55	*Mummeia Atticilla (C. filia)*	
56	*L. Sontius Pineius Iustianus*	*equitis romani adnepos, vir principalis, duumvir et munerarius, sacerdos M.D.*
57	*Terentia Flaviana*	*sacerdos secundo loco XV viralis*
58	*Trebulana Iustina*	*tympanistra*
98	*Liguria Thymele*	
110	*G. Iulius Secundus*	
111	*Iulia Clementiana*	
112	*Iulia Nice*	
113	*Iunia Domitia*	
114	*Pompeia Flora*	
115	*Servilia Modesta*	
116	*Valeria Gemina*	
117	*Verinia Severa*	
119	*Aprilis (Repentini f.) et Saturnina (Taurini f.)*	

57/58. Beneventum	*c.* 228	*ob taurobolium traditum a sacerdote*
68. Utica	235-238	*cerno et criobolio de suo acceptis tradentibus sacerdotibus, astantibus dendroforis et sacratis, ministrante dendroforo apparatore*
110-117 Lactora	241	*tauropolium accepit hostis suis, sacerdote*
60/61. Mactar	276-293	*perfectis rite sacris cernorum una cum dendroforis et sacratis*
21. Rome	319	*taurobolium caerno perceptum per sacerdotem: praesentibus et tradentibus clarissimis viris ex collegio XV vir.*

The undated inscriptions can easily be assigned to one of the above groups because of similarities of phraseology: **93** and **119** obviously belong to the series **110-117, 55** should go with **57/58, 56** with **54**, and **62** with **60/61**.

This list is very interesting, both because it gives us an idea of the evolution in terminology that took place during the second phase, and also because it shows that all the inscriptions it contains refer to the same sort of *taurobolium*.

In the oldest inscriptions of this phase we repeatedly find *tradere* used in connexion with a priest. A clear distinction is made between the dedicator and the *tradens*. In Beneventum it is recorded that the dedicator *fecit taurobolium*; in Narbo and Lactora he *accepit taurobolium*; and in Rome *percepit taurobolium*. The *tradere*-act, which was not performed by the dedicator, was apparently very important, since in one inscription we find the expression *'taurobolium traditum'*. From this we may deduce that part of the ceremony in this phase consisted of the priest's performing some action denoted by *tradere*. This *traditio* (if we may so refer to it) appears for the first time in the *taurobolium* of the period 228 to 319.

Our grouping the inscriptions containing *accipere* with those that have *tradere* is based upon a number of reasons, of which the most important are the use of both verbs during the same period, and the fact that a verb such as *tradere* that means 'to hand over' implies a complementary act that would consist of the receiving of the *traditum*. *Accipere* is a word that denotes such an action,

and so is *percipere*, which is found in inscription No. **21**. The reason for making a distinction between this inscription and the others that contain *percipere* will be explained below. This complementary action that is denoted by *tradere* must have been performed by the dedicator. This agrees very well with the inscriptions, in which it is always the dedicator who *accepit*. The most convincing argument for the connecting of *tradere* and *accipere* is furnished by inscription No. **68**, where we find both verbs and it is made quite clear that the dedicator *accepit* and the priest *tradidit*.

With this information as basis we can now establish the nature of the new rite a little more clearly. It is obvious that the priest handed something over to the dedicator, and that all the inscriptions that are ascribed to the second phase record the same rite and differ in their terminology less than they seem to do at first sight. A ceremony that consisted of the handing over by the priest and receiving by the dedicator of an as-yet-uncertain object can, of course, be described in various ways. One can keep the traditional verb *facere* to denote the performing of the complete *taurobolium*-ceremony, and add *'tradente sacerdote'* as a description of the additional rite (as in Nos **54** and **56**)—the inscriptions from Mactar probably provide a similar case, with *perficere* instead of *facere* (see Nos **60, 61** and **62**)—or the emphasis can be put on the new part of the ceremony with the result that we find such expressions as *'ob taurobolium traditum a sacerdote'* (stressing the role of the priest) with the name of the dedicator but omitting *accepit*—presumably as superfluous (Nos **55, 57** and **58**)—and on the other hand instances where the dedicator records that he *'accepit'* (stressing his own part in the rite) and we have merely the priest's name to tell us who the *tradens* was (as in Nos **98, 110** to **117**, and **119**). The most detailed account of the ceremony is in inscription No **68** from Utica, in which we are informed not only of what the priest did, but also of the dedicator's part in the proceedings, and both *accipere* and *tradere* are used. No. **21** is also quite explicit, but has *percipere* instead of *accipere*. This does not mean that we can at once conclude that the other inscriptions with *percipere* refer to this second phase of the *taurobolium*, since

in these other *percipere* inscriptions there is no mention of *tradere* or of the *cernus*, which are characteristic of this stage.

Now, what was it that the priest handed over and the dedicator received? All the evidence points towards its having been the *cernus*. Indeed in all the inscriptions, except those from Beneventum, *tradere* is always accompanied by *cernus*; both at Utica in Africa about 235 and at Rome in 319 we find this same combination, so that it is hardly possible to speak of coincidence.

We may therefore visualize the new part of the *taurobolium*-ceremony as the reception by the dedicator of the *cernus* from the hands of the priest. It is of course also possible that it was not the *cernus* but its contents that were somehow or other handed over. The inscriptions could be interpreted in both ways. The fact that in the inscriptions there are expressions such as *'taurobolium' accepit* and *'taurobolium' traditum* in no way contradicts our supposition that it was the *cernus* that was given and received, since the word *taurobolium* denotes the whole rite, and consequently the ceremony with the *cernus* also. As soon as the emphasis came to rest on this particular part of the *taurobolium* it was just as meaningful to speak of *taurobolium tradere* as of *cernum tradere*, though the latter expression would be a more exact description of the ceremony.[1])

It is not possible to decide on the evidence of the inscriptions what the *cernus* looked like, and, as we have already seen, it is not wise to put too much confidence in the descriptions contained in the literary texts, however we should probably be not far from the truth if we described it at as a sacrificial bowl. The inscriptions are just as uncommunicative about what the *cernus* contained, but whatever it may have been, it was certainly not the *vires*, as we have shown. We must keep in mind that the *cernus* appears at a stage in the evolution of the *taurobolium* that is intermediate between two forms whose nature is established. As a result of our investigation of the first phase of this rite we have seen that it then consisted of the sacrifice of a bull, and from the detailed

[1]) We may perhaps refer here to similar phraseology in the rite of baptism, where we find the vague formulation 'receive baptism' instead of a more exact description of the course of events.

description of Prudentius it is clear that in its final form the *taurobolium* was a sort of baptism of blood—both the nature of the ceremony and its purpose had been radically changed. The *taurobolium* of the second phase is again different, as may be seen from the fact that in neither the first nor the third phase there is any place for a ceremony denoted by a verb such as *tradere* and involving a *cernus*. And so we must imagine a ceremony with a bowl that could form part of a sacrifice, since it is quite plain from the inscriptions that the *taurobolium*-ceremony had not lost its original sacrificial character. The occurrence of the expressions *pro salute,*[1]) *hostis suis,*[2]) and *de suo* [3]) show this quite clearly.

This imaginary ceremony of ours with the *cernus* must also be able to form a transition to a rite in which the blood of the victim was of fundamental importance for the dedicator. It is obvious that we must here rely solely on our imagination, since there is not a single piece of documentary evidence that throws any light on the nature of the ceremony. One possible course of events would include the catching of the blood in the *cernus* at the moment of sacrifice and its being handed over to the dedicator in some way or other that we can not now establish. This hypothesis would explain how the *taurobolium* evolved from a sacrifice to a sort of baptism. The causes of this change in the rite will be discussed in a later chapter.

If our explanation is accepted, it is at once easy to see the meaning of the verbs *tradere* and *accipere* and what connexion they could have with the *cernus*; and we find that the *taurobolium* of the transitional period is itself a transitional *taurobolium*—it still keeps a number of the characteristics of the sacrifice, but already has in it the germ of the baptism of blood. It was still a sacrifice, since it was still thought important to record details about costs and motive just as in the first phase but in contrast to the third. Another indication of the sacrificial character of the rite in the transitional period is the fact that the intention could still be the health of the emperor—an intention that, as we have seen, can only

[1]) Nos **60, 61, 62, 68**.
[2]) Nos **110** to **117, 119**.
[3]) No. **68**.

be meaningful in the context of a sacrifice. On the other hand the ceremony in the pit is also foreshadowed by the importance attached to the purifying blood, which finds its expression in the new ceremony with the *cernus* intended to put the blood at the disposal of the dedicator. The similarity to the taurobolium of the third phase lies in the fact that when the dedicator received the purifying blood in the *cernus* he was also receiving the *taurobolium*—not by creeping into a pit, but in the form of the *cernus* full of blood.

We may therefore regard the *taurobolium* in its second phase as consisting of two parts. In the first the bull was killed and its blood was caught in the *cernus*; in the second this vessel and its contents were handed over to the faithful. If we accept this interpretation, we must consider very carefully whether it is not possible that inscription No **109** refers to the same celebration as the series Nos **110** to **117**. If it does, then No. **109** would be a record of the first part of the ceremony: the sacrifice of the bull for the welfare of the Emperor, during which the blood would be caught in the *cernus/cerni*. In the second part a whole series of people who are mentioned as dedicators in inscriptions Nos **110-117** would have received the *cernus* or its contents. There is at any rate a connexion between No. **109** and the others. They were not only performed on the same day, but were also celebrated by the same priest. If we were to assume that each inscription recorded a separate *taurobolium*, we should then have to believe that in a place such as Lactora nine bulls were sacrificed on the same day. This seems rather improbable, considering the expense and also the physical strain on those who performed the rite. And if we regard the nine inscriptions as referring to nine similar *taurobolia*, it is difficult to explain why in eight cases we have *accipere* and in one *facere*; and on the other hand if No. **109** records a *taurobolium* of a completely different kind from the other eight inscriptions, why were people still performing an old-fashioned sort of *taurobolium* when *taurobolia* of the next phase were already being celebrated in the same place?

c. *Taurobolium percipere/tauroboliati*

The inscriptions we include in this category are in the first place

all those that contain the verb *percipere* or the expression *taurobolatus*: Nos **11, 14, 16, 17, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 34, 44, 45, 47, 59, 64, 66** and **78**. A number of others from the same period that contain nothing that might be thought to contradict *percipere* may be added to this list: Nos **12, 13, 15, 23** and **25**. The Greek inscriptions from Rome also belong to this phase: Nos **5, 6, 30, 31** and **33.**

All the inscriptions in this group date from the period 319 to 390. They come from the Iberian Peninsula,[1]) Africa,[2]) Greece,[3]) Rome,[4]) Ostia,[5]) and some other places in Italy.[6])

In contrast with the state of affairs in the two previous phases we now find that the dedicators [7]) are mainly prominent people who are supporters of more than one eastern religion.

[1]) No. **78**. *Pax Iulia.*
[2]) Nos **64, 66**: Carthago.
[3]) Nos **5, 6**: Athens.
[4]) Nos **11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34**.
[5]) No. **44, 45**.
[6]) No. **59**. *Brundisium*; **47**. *Antium.*
[7])

78	*Duo Irinaei, pater et filius*	
11	*Iulius Italicus*	*V.C., XV vir S.F.*
12	. . . . . *Antoninus*	*V.C., pontif, XV vir S.F.*
13	*Clodius Hermogenianus Caesarius*	*V.C., proconsul, praefectus urbis, XV vir S.F.*
14	*Q. Clodius Flavianus*	*V.C., pontif. maior, XV vir S.F., VII vir epulonum, pontif. Dei Solis.*
5	Ἀρχέλεως	κλειδοῦχος βασιληΐδος Ἥρης, ἐν Λέρνῃ δ' ἔλαχεν μυστιπόλους δαΐδας, δαδοῦχος Κόρης βασιληΐδος ἱερὰ σηκῶν Ἥρας κλεῖθρα φέρων.
6	Μουσώνιος	
15	. . . . .	*Uxor clarissima.*
16	*L. Ragonius Venustus*	*V.C., augur publicus, pontifex Vestalis maior.*
17	*Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus*	*V.C., augur publicus, pater et hieroceryx D.S.I. Mithrae, archibucolus Dei Liberi, hierofanta Hecatae, sacerdos Isidis.*
22	*Petronius Apollodorus*	*V.C., pontifex maior, XV vir S.F., pater sacrorum Dei Invicti Mithrae.*

Some of the inscriptions record that the *taurobolium* was received more than once.[1]) A passage in the *Carmen contra paganos* also

23	*Sextilius Agesilaus Aedesius*	*V.C., mag. libel. et cognit. sacrar., mag. epist., mag. mem., vic. praef., pater patrum D.S.I. Mithrae, hierofanta Hecatarum, archibucolus Dei Liberi.*
24	*Rufius Ceionius Sabinus*	*V.C., pontifex maior, hierofanta Hecatae, augur publicus, pater sacrorum invicti Methrae.*
25	*Ceionius Rufius Volusianus*	*V.C.*
26	*Alfenius Ceionius Iulianus Kamenius*	*V.C., VII vir epulonum, pater sacr. Sumni Invicti Mitrai, ierofante Aecate, archibucolus Dei Liberi, XV vir S.F., pontifex maior, consularis.*
27	*Vettius Agorius Praetextatus*	*V.C., pontifex Vestae, pontifex solis, XV vir S.F., augur, curialis, neocorus, hierofanta, pater sacrorum, quaestor, praetor, conrector, consularis, proconsul, praefectus Urbis, praefectus praetorius, consul designatus.*
28	concerns the same person as No. **27.**	
29	*Fabia Aconia Paulina*	*C.F., sacrata apud Eleusinam Deo Iaccho Cereri et Corae, sacrata apud Laernam Deo Libero et Cereri Corae, sacrata apud Aeginam deabus, Isiaca, hierophantria deae Hecatae Graeco sacraneae deae Cereris.*
30	Κρήσκης καὶ Λεόντιος	ἱρεὺς φόιβου.
31	Σαβῖνα	μεγαλήτορος ὄργια. Δηοῦς καὶ φοβεὰς Ἑκάτης νύκτας ἐπισταμένη;
32	concerns the same person as No. **26.**	
33	Γα[μά?]λιος	
34	concerns the same person as No. **26.**	
64	. . . . .	
66	. . . . .	*hierofanta.*
59	*L. Pacilius*	*sacerdos M.D. et Suriae deae et sacrorum Isidis.*
44	*Volusianus*	*V.C.*
45	*Marcarianus*	*V.C.*
47	concerns the same person as No. **26**	

[1]) Apart from nos **1** (Ilion); **18, 19** (Rome); **52, 53** (Teate) and **50** (Puteoli),

refers to a repetition of the rite,[1]) and together with a few of the inscriptions seems to indicate that it was usual to wait twenty years before repeating the ceremony. There is one inscription, very obscurely worded, that mentions a period of twenty-eight years.[2]) Various attempts have been made to explain this total. It has been supposed that the *taurobolium* was effective for twenty years and the *criobolium* for eight.[3]) Moore even wonders whether the magic attached to the number 'seven' may not lie behind the choice of twenty-eight—i.e. four times seven.[4]) But this is, of course, all guess-work. It is also possible that the *vicennalia* had something to do with the choice of twenty years as the period between two *taurobolia*. A number of scholars who have used the expression *in aeternum renatus* to show that the *taurobolium* conferred a new and eternal life have had difficulty in explaining why it should then be repeated. Graillot [5]) thought that the first *taurobolium* was effective for twenty years and the second for all eternity. Moore,[6]) on the other hand, found a more likely explanation in the supposition that *in aeternum renatus* expressed the expectations of an enthusiastic *tauroboliatus* rather than a dogma accepted by all.

Thanks to the detailed description of Prudentius we are well informed about the course of the ceremony. There are no doubt a few exaggerations due to Christian zeal in his version of the rite, but we have no reason to believe that the more important points are incorrect or invented. Moreover the other texts obviously refer to a similar ceremony. It apparently took the following form: a pit was dug for the dedicator, and when he had lain down

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all of which belong to a different category, we must here mention:
17 Rome (376): *vota Faventinus bis deni suscipit orbis, ut mactet repetens aurata fronte bicornes.*
15 Rome (383): *taurobolio criobolioque repetito.*
25 Rome (390): *iterato viginti annis tauroboli sui, aram constituit et consecravit.*
33 Rome (—): ὃς πάλι ταῦρον ἤγαγε.

[1]) *vivere num speras viginti mundus in annos.*
[2]) **33** Rome (—) ὀκτὼ γὰρ λυκάβαντος ἐπ' εἴκοσι ἡρεμέοντας νύκτα διασκεδάσας αὖθις ἔθηκε φάος.
[3]) Fabre, *Mél.*, 12-13.
[4]) Moore, *Duration*, 363-365.
[5]) Graillot, 172-173.
[6]) Moore, *Duration*, 363-365.

in it and a perforated plank had been placed over the opening, the bull was slaughtered above him. The blood streamed down upon him and he took good care that every inch of his body was bathed in the life-giving liquid. He would then emerge from the pit to receive the respectful salutations of the whole congregation.

From this account it is quite clear that the killing of the bull was no longer regarded primarily as a sacrifice, but rather as the only way to obtain the purifying blood. Nor is there any mention of a *cernus* or the verb *tradere*, so that there can be no doubt that Prudentius' description cannot be applied to the *taurobolia* of the transitional period.

There is consequently little disagreement about the way in which the rite was performed, and discussion has been concentrated on the results that were expected from the receiving of such a *taurobolium*. Now it seems to us that the observation of Prudentius that '*omnes salutant atque adorant eminus, vilis quod illum sanguis et bos mortuus foedis latentem sub cavernis laverint*' and the clause from the *Carmen contra paganos* '*vivere num speras mundus viginti in annos*' leave little room for doubt. Both texts clearly indicate some sort of purification, which is, of course, not physical but spiritual.

But nevertheless there have been all kinds of other theories propounded. Most of these are due to scholars who reject any evolution of the *taurobolium*, and ascribe the intentions they see behind the *taurobolium* of Prudentius to every other stage of the rite.

One group, which consists of Chaudruc de Crazannes,[1]) Showerman,[2]) Sayous,[3]) Pettazzoni,[4]) Willoughby,[5]) Oppermann,[6]) Briem,[7]) Bouyer,[8]) and Cumont,[9]) suppose that the purpose of the ceremony was regeneration—at first physical, but later spiritual. According

[1]) Crazannes, 121-122.
[2]) Showerman, 283-284.
[3]) Sayous, 138-143.
[4]) Pettazzoni, 133.
[5]) Willoughby, 130-132.
[6]) Oppermann, 18.
[7]) Briem, 313-314.
[8]) Bouyer, 12-13.
[9]) Cumont, *R.O.*, 64-65; Cumont, *Attis*, 108-110.

to this school of thought the origin of the *taurobolium* is to be found in primitive hunting customs such as sprinkling oneself with the blood of the quarry in order to absorb the animal's strength. In the course of time and because of the influence of more otherworldly cults such as Mazdaism it is supposed that the original expectation of physical regeneration was replaced by the hope of a spiritual rebirth. The expression *'in aeternum renatus'* is used as proof of this theory. But it seems to us that too much importance should not be attached to this phrase, since it occurs only once and at such a late stage that, as Lagrange [1]) has seen, the influence of Christianity is probably to be suggested. If *'in aeternum renatus'* really did express the expected result of all *taurobolia*, it would be very difficult to explain why the phrase should occur only once. After all, the *tauroboliati* would certainly not have omitted to mention in all their inscriptions an article of faith that set their rites on exactly the same level as those of their most dangerous competitors and bitterest opponents. Nor would the Christian apologists have passed over such devilish and sacrilegious expectations in silence.

The supporters of this theory also draw attention to the appearance of the word *natalicium* in a number of inscriptions.[2]) This, they tell us, indicates that the day on which the *taurobolium* was received was regarded a kind of birthday. Such an interpretation of this word is supported by Espérandieu,[3]) Zippel,[4]) Hepding,[5]) Gruppe,[6]) Graillot,[7]) Moore,[8]) and Rummens.[9]) Inscription No **124** demanded a special explanation of its own. Zippel [10]) thought that the god of birth was referred to; Graillot [11]) that the inscription recorded the

[1]) Lagrange, *Attis*, 465-466.
[2]) **78** Pax Iulia: *criobolati natali suo*; **79** Emerita: *aram tauroboli sui natalici redditi dedicavit*; **124** Burdigala: *natalici viribus*; **132** Divodurum: *aram tauroboli ob natalicium ex iussu reficiendam curavit.*
[3]) Espérandieu, *Lectoure*, 116.
[4]) Zippel, 419.
[5]) Hepding, 198.
[6]) Gruppe, 1552-1554.
[7]) Graillot, 172.
[8]) Moore, *Duration*, 363.
[9]) Rummens, 63; 159.
[10]) Zippel, 419.
[11]) Graillot, 172.

dedication of the *vires* that had freed the *dedicator* from the power of death and reborn him into a new life; and Lagrange [1]) that the word *natalicium* indicated that the *taurobolium* was sometimes performed on the birthday of the dedicator. Dey [2]) supported this view, and drew attention to the fact that the noun *natalicium*, which occurs in inscription No. **132** and most probably also in No· **79**, actually means 'birthday'. (If we take the word in No. **79** as an adjective, it comes more or less to the same thing since we can translate *taurobolium natalicium* as 'a *taurobolium* performed on a birthday'.) According to the same scholar the verb *reddere* meant that a *taurobolium* had been carried out in accordance with a vow, and the phrase *taurobolium redditum* was therefore equivalent to *taurobolium ex voto factum*. We support this interpretation. In inscription No. **132** we find merely a record of the restoration of an altar in commemoration of a *taurobolium* that was celebrated *ob natalicium*, that is 'on the occasion of a birthday'. The reason that is introduced in this inscription by the preposition *ob* is expressed in No. **79** by a explanatory genitive, *tauroboli natalici*. This *taurobolium* was the fulfilment of a vow. For inscription No. **124** we were at first tempted to adopt Lagrange's explanation —'To the *vires* of the sacrificial victim that was offered on the birthdays of dedicators'—but it is quite possible that this inscription has nothing whatever to do with the *taurobolium*.[3])

And so it is plain that neither *in aeternum renatus* nor *natalicium* are proof that rebirth into eternal life was ascribed to the *taurobolium* —the first expression can hardly be called representative, and the second does not refer to rebirth at all. As for the primitive *taurobolium* that is supposed to have brought physical regeneration; we have not the slightest trace of evidence that it ever existed.

[1]) Lagrange, *Christ.*, 466-467.
[2]) Dey, 77-79.
[3]) We were at first inclined to accept Lagrange's point of view in this matter, but Professor Sanders pointed out to us that *Vis* can also have the meaning of *Iuno* (i.e. a feminine *Genius*). *Cf.* Servius, *In Aen.*, VII, 432; Auson., *Technop.*, VIII, 4). *Viribus* would then *mean Iunonibus*. The plural may be explained by supposing that there were here two dedicators, both of whom were women. (For an alternative interpretation, see W. Eisenhut *Vires* in *RE.* 17. *Halbband* (*Zweite Reihe*), 311.

Merely to refer to the saga of Siegfried, who was rendered invulnerable by bull's blood, does not to us seem sufficient.[1])

The interpretation of the *taurobolium* as a substitute for castration is supported by not a single piece of evidence, at any rate for the third period. Prudentius does not mention any such idea, and the *vires* are mentioned in the inscriptions only until the year 245, when the third phase had not yet begun. It is possible that some such interpretation [2]) could be put upon the first phase, but it would be difficult to reconcile with the large number of women who are recorded as dedicators.

Another common view is that the *taurobolium* formed part of the mysteries of Cybele. The exact function that it fulfilled in this cult is not clear. Graillot,[3]) Showerman,[4]) Dussaud,[5]) Willoughby,[6]) Schütze,[7]) Schepelern,[8]) Bailey,[9]) Oppermann,[10]) and Briem [11]) thought that this was the spectacle that was shown to the initiates. The descent into the pit and the reappearance out of it are supposed to have been a commemoration of the death and resurrection of Attis, and the *tauroboliatus* experienced everything the god himself had gone through. Reitzenstein [12]) suggests a similar interpretation, and adds that the *taurobolium* was probably to begin with a congregational cult in which only the priest had an active role and the others were merely spectators. At a later stage all the initiates took part in the *taurobolium*, so that they not only saw but themselves experienced Attis' death and rising again.

There are a large number of possible objections to this line of thought. The most important is, of course, that not a single text can be found to support it. But there is also the fact that the

[1]) Derchain, 83-87.
[2]) Pettazzoni, 133.
[3]) Graillot, 155-157.
[4]) Showerman, 283-284.
[5]) Dussaud, 234-235.
[6]) Willoughby, 130-132.
[7]) Schütze, 118.
[8]) Schepelern, 114-116.
[9]) Bailey, 202-203.
[10]) Oppermann, 18.
[11]) Briem, 313-314.
[12]) Reitzenstein, 22; 45-46.

taurobolium in its third phase, and in the preceding phases also, could be celebrated at the most varying times of the year; not to mention the curious assumption that a rite that had previously taken place in public should be incorporated, even after radical changes, in the mysteries that made such great point of secrecy. Finally, without distorting the meaning of the texts it is impossible to connect the descent into the pit and the emerging from it with the death and resurrection of Attis.

A large number of these objections may also be raised against Grenier's [1]) theory that the *taurobolium* was the rite that gave initiation to the mysteries. We may moreover ask why the *taurobolium* should in that case be repeated (when one initiation was always considered sufficient) and what could have prompted the priest of Prudentius to undergo what was for him a superfluous ceremony. The fact that he did has convinced Wissowa [2]) that the *taurobolium* was a sort of ordination, at any rate in the last stage of its evolution. But—we are compelled once more to ask—why should it then be repeated? After all, *consecrare* can be translated in other ways besides 'consecrate as'.

To close this chapter we give a summary of the theories of Loisy.[3]) They form an amalgam of ideas assembled from all the previously mentioned interpretations. According to this scholar the *taurobolium* was originally a form of initiation that was kept so secret that not a single inscription from this early period is now extant. In the course of time, however, a new form of this rite developed that was always celebrated on the twenty-fourth of March and *pro salute imperatoris*. This is the ceremony described by Prudentius. In it the dedicator was sprinkled with the divine blood of the bull, which represented Attis, and became a god himself. The whole rite with its descent into the pit and its emerging once again is moreover a re-enactment of this god's death and resurrection. It is from all this that the Christians obtained their idea of regeneration through the blood of Christ—in Christianity this is a mere metaphor, but in the *taurobolium* it was actual, physical reality. However the original

[1]) Grenier, 210-211.
[2]) Wissowa, 324-325.
[3]) Loisy, 107, 115-122.

intention was not immortality—this was introduced later under Thracian influence—but cooperation with the activities of Attis and Cybele in the world of nature. This is a sample of the interpretations that have been propounded under the influence of the idea that Attis' death and resurrection were the model for the construction of the Christian doctrine of resurrection.

And so after all the only result expected of the *taurobolium* was a spiritual purification, and all the other suggested intentions have been shown by investigation of the texts to be merely exercises in imagination with no basis in reality. Consequently we must ascribe to the *taurobolium* in its last phase the character of a ceremony intended to purify the *tauroboliatus* of his faults, and performed as it has been described by Prudentius. It is probable that we possess archaeological remains from this third phase in the shape of the *fossa sanguinis* at Neuss,[1]) excavated by von Petrikovits, who assigned it to the fourth century. This is a pit 1.40 m. deep with sides 1.80 m. long that has steep steps on the NW and SE sides. A similar pit has been found on the capitol at Zadar (Iadar) but does not correspond exactly with the description supplied by Prudentius. It takes the form of a basin some ten centimetres deep with a channel leading to a pit two metres deep and with an average width of sixty centimetres at a lower level. If this construction

[1]) For Neuss see H. von Petrikovits, *Das Römische Rheinland, Archäologische Forschungen seit 1945*, Köln 1960, 127; 129-131, and *Novaesium, Das römische Neuss*, Köln 1957, 38-41. M. Suić's article, *Oryentalni kultovi u antičkom Zadru* in *Diadora* 3 (1965), 91-128—see especially *Taurobolya i kriobolya* on pages 109-114—is in Serbo-Croatian, but has a summary in German. I should like to record here my gratitude to Dr. Vyncke, 'suppleant' in the Rijksuniversiteit of Ghent, who translated this text and so made it possible for me to form a clear impression of these discoveries (see Duthoy, *Zadar*). G. Calza, *Il santuario della Magna Mater a Ostia* in *Memorie della Pontifica Accademia*, Ser 3, 6 (1947), 179, and *Scavi di Ostia I*, Roma 1953, 86, considers that he has discovered a *fossa sanguinis* at Ostia, but is very cautious about making any definite statements. It does not seem to me that the evidence is sufficient to conclude that the object he found really is a *fossa sanguinis* (see also Maria Floriani Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, Leiden 1962, 7). The same applies to the find in Samothrace—see K. Lehman, *Samothrace*, New York 1966, 34, in which the 'may be' of the 1955 edition has become an indicative for no very obvious reason.

actually was used for celebrating *taurobolia*, the rite must have differed from the one described by Prudentius in that the bull was not slaughtered above the pit in which the tauroboliatus lay but above the curious basin. The blood would then have poured along the channel and into the pit. But it is more than likely that this object is not a *fossa sanguinis* at all.

d. *The Unclassified Inscriptions*

A number of inscriptions have not so far been included in our classification. This is in most cases due to their badly-damaged state. Such inscriptions are Nos **7, 41, 46, 49, 63, 97, 100, 101,** and **133**, which come from Asseria, Mactar, Formiae, Narbo, Vesulum, Ostia, and Lavinium. A few of them are dated: **49** (241), **97** (263), **46** (212).

Yet others, which are complete, contain no verb and are undated, so that it is difficult to decide to which of our classes they should belong. This applies to Nos **65, 73, 79, 102, 125**, and **131**. **65** and **73** also contain *pro salute*, so that they cannot, at any rate, come from the third phase.

We must finally consider Nos **18, 19**, and **20** from Rome. Seeing that they date from the years 295-313, it would be reasonable to assign them to the second or third phase. On the other hand they contain the verb *facere*, which points rather to the first, but is at the same time a word of such general application that, in spite of what we have already said about it above, it should probably not be given as much weight here as the dates. We should moreover note that these inscriptions are among the oldest to come from Rome, and it is possible that their terminology has been influenced by yet earlier ones of which we know nothing; that is if there actually were *taurobolia* celebrated at Rome before the earliest recorded. As we have already shown, the expression '*a vaticano transtulit*' that we find in an inscription from Lyon [1]) has nothing to do with the Roman hill, and consequently does not imply that there were already *taurobolia* at Rome about the year 160.

Although it is rather difficult to find a suitable place in our scheme of evolution for these three inscriptions, it hardly seems to us this is sufficient reason to dismiss the whole theory.

[1]) No. **126**.

II. AN EXPLANATION OF THE EVOLUTION

Now that we have in the preceding chapter considered each phase outside the framework of the evolution of the *taurobolium*, we shall try in this chapter to explain the manner of and the reasons for the development of the rite. This reconstruction will, of course, be largely hypothetical, since none of our sources give explicit answers to the questions with which we are confronted. But it nevertheless seems impossible to doubt that an evolution did take place, when one remembers the evidence adduced earlier in this book.

However, there have been a large number of scholars who saw no trace of evolution in the *taurobolium*. They include Chaudruc de Crazannes,[1]) Showerman,[2]) Sayous,[3]) Pettazzoni,[4]) Willoughby,[5]) Oppermann,[6]) Briem,[7]) Bouyer,[8]) Cumont,[9]) Graillot,[10]) Bailey,[11]) Schütze,[12]) and Schepelern,[13]) all of whom believed that the *taurobolium* was always performed in the manner described by Prudentius. Reitzenstein[14]) may be added to this list, since the only difference in his version of the rite is that he supposed that it was at first only the priest who descended into the pit.

Although the great majority belong to the 'no-evolution' group, a few scholars have accepted some sort of development. As early as 1846 de Boissieu[15]) suggested that the rite had evolved from a sacrifice to the descent into the pit. Boissier[16]) gave more definite

[1]) Crazannes, 121-122.
[2]) Showerman, 283-284.
[3]) Sayous, 138-143.
[4]) Pettazzoni, 133.
[5]) Willoughby, 130-132.
[6]) Oppermann, 18.
[7]) Briem, 313-314.
[8]) Bouyer, 12-13.
[9]) Cumont, *R.O.*, 64-65; Cumont, *Bellone*, 108-110.
[10]) Graillot, 155-157; 171.
[11]) Bailey, 202-203.
[12]) Schütze, 120-121.
[13]) Schepelern, 114-116.
[14]) Reitzenstein, 22; 45-46.
[15]) De Boissieu, 22-23.
[16]) Boissier, 412 n. 1; 414-415.

expression to the same idea, basing his argument on the contrast between *facere* and *accipere*, and pointing out that Prudentius' description was consequently valid for the last form of the rite only.

The first to make a clear distinction between the *taurobolium* as sacrifice and as consecration was Zippel,[1]) who placed the former in the second and third centuries A.D. and the latter in the fourth. Unfortunately he did not carry his classification through consistently, so that further on in his article we find inscription No. **71** treated as a consecration. Nor did he make any distinction between *percipere* and *accipere*, with the result that he divided the evolution of the rite into two instead of into three phases. The explanation for this evolution he finds in the influence of Christianity with its purifying baptism, and in the cult of Mithras and its idea of the divine blood that flowed from the breast of the bull. Hepding[2]) adopted these opinions without any change; Gruppe,[3]) Allard,[4]) and Wissowa [5]) did make a distinction between sacrifice and consecration, but did not develop their theories any further. It is not until Lagrange [6]) that we find new and original interpretations. According to this scholar the *taurobolium* was in its earliest form a sacrifice *pro salute imperatoris*, in which the *archigallus* descended into the pit. The ceremony with the *vires*, which the dedicator received and brought to the place of burial, gave a role in the sacrifice to him also. It was only exceptionally that the dedicator himself took his place in the pit. When he did, this was indicated in the inscription by the formula we find in Milev: *T. fecerunt et ipsi susceperunt.* Because the *taurobolium* was performed only by adherents of the cult of Cybele it became in the course of time a mark of this sect's members, and consequently was looked upon as an initiation ceremony. The weakness of this last chain of reasoning will be obvious to everybody. His interpretation of *suscipere* differs from the one we developed above; there is not the slightest indication that the *archigallus* actually did descend into the pit in the first

[1]) Zippel, 499-504; 517.
[2]) Hepding, 196-201
[3]) Gruppe, 1553.
[4]) Allard, 33.
[5]) Wissowa, 324-325.
[6]) Lagrange, 459-465.

phase of the rite; and the contrast between *facere* and *accipere* has no light thrown on it at all.

The study that Dey [1]) devoted to the *taurobolium* is distinguished from most others by the critical spirit in which it was carried out. He does accept the evolution of a sacrifice into a consecration, and believes that this change took place in the second quarter of the third century. He does not, however, regard the period of transition as a separate stage in the evolution of the rite. There is little else in his study about this particular point, and most of it is taken up with a discussion of the occurrences of *natalicium* and *in aeternum renatus*, which we have already considered above.

In contrast with all the scholars that have been mentioned so far Rummens has composed not merely a small number of pages on the *taurobolium* but a detailed monograph [2]). He is moreover the only one to attempt a reconstruction in which all the evidence has been taken into account.[3]) The important points in his book are the following:

While religion was in the stage of vegetation magic, so he tells us, the *vires* in the *taurobolium* were buried on the spot where the blood of the bull had soaked into the ground. This was done in order to increase the fruitfulness of the earth. When the national religions arose and the accent was no longer on nature but on groups and peoples, the intention of the *taurobolium* became the fruitfulness of mankind, and especially of the king, as representative of the might of the race, and the *pater familias*, as the representative of the family. The inscriptions from Pergamon and Ilion [4]) would belong to this second stage. The *taurobolium* took on its final form with the appearance of the mystery religions. The cult of Cybele took over this fertility rite and incorporated it in a ritual that commemorated and represented Attis' death, burial, resurrection, and reunion with Cybele. The ceremony with the *vires* was now a substitute for castration. And so the *taurobolium* entered Rome at the same time as the cult of the Great Mother, but it was not

[1]) Dey, 69-73.
[2]) See bibliography.
[3]) Rummens, 163-192; 231-233.
[4]) Our nos **1, 2.**

until the reign of Claudius that it was naturalized. As a token of his gratitude for this imperial approval the *clerus* restored the *taurobolium* performed for the sake of the ruler to its former honour, and it is these *taurobolia* that were first recorded in inscriptions. Private celebrations of the rite then began to be commemorated also in imitation. About the middle of the third century the *taurobolium* underwent yet another transformation and became a ceremony of regeneration in which the initiate descended into the pit in order to be purified and reborn. The effectiveness of this baptism was at first supposed to last for twenty years, but later, under the influence of Christianity, the participants' expectations became those expressed in the phrase *'in aeternum renatus'*. In this last stage the ritual began with the killing of the bull. This was followed by a meal in which everyone ate from a tambourine and drank from a cymbal, and by the *cernophoria*—the carrying in procession and consecration of the *vires*. And finally there was some sort of mysterious ceremony in the *pastos* leading up to the burial of the *vires*.

There are quite a number of possible objections to this reconstruction of Rummens', and we have already pointed out a few of them earlier in this book. Here we may mention that in his view of the last phase of the *taurobolium* he bases himself on the text from Clement of Alexandria in which that writer uses the expression ἐκερνοφόρησα. Rummens wrongly takes this verb as referring to the *cernus* of the *taurobolium*, and deduces that the *taurobolium* was therefore a part of the rites of Cybele. We have already shown the falsity of such a notion. But the most serious objection to Rummens' version of the evolution is that it is impossible to make it agree with the chronology of our sources. According to Rummens the *taurobolium* was already in its third stage (the mystery religion) when the cult of Cybele was brought to Rome about 204 B.C. But this does not prevent him from quoting inscriptions of about 100 B.C. as evidence for the second phase. He declares that the rite was accepted as a Roman one by Claudius, when the first inscription recording a *taurobolium 'pro salute'* is of A.D. 160. The inscription of A.D. 134 from Puteoli has no place in his scheme, in spite of the fact that according to Rummens the *taurobolium*

must then have been part of the Great Mother's cult for more than three hundred years. The inscriptions make it plain that there were great changes in the rite about the middle of the third century, but it is difficult to understand what form these can have taken if the *taurobolium* was already incorporated into the cult of Cybele in Asia Minor. In short, although Rummens' theory hangs together quite well, it cannot be denied that it is not completely consistent.

And so we are forced to conclude that the theories that have been put forward so far are either not detailed enough or do not tally with the evidence of our sources.

If we now go back over what has been said in the preceding chapters, we can see that in the history of the *taurobolium* three periods of change have occurred. About A.D. 160 the *taurobolium* was incorporated in the cult of Cybele; about A.D. 225 the ceremony with the *cernus* became part of the rite; and finally about A.D. 300 the *taurobolium* developed into the baptism of blood in the pit that we know from Prudentius. We should like to emphasize once again that the transitions from one form of the rite to the next were gradual and did not take place overnight. Indeed the whole of the second phase was itself a transition. It is only for the sake of clarity that we have marked the various stages off so definitely.

It is quite clear from the inscriptions that the *taurobolium* had no connexion with the cult of Cybele to begin with. It cannot be an accident that the five *taurobolium* inscriptions that do not mention the *Mater Deum* are the five oldest ones. The first inscription that reveals the addition to her rites dates from the 9th of December 160, but this was of course not necessarily the very first celebration of the new series. We can, however, safely assume that the change took place under Antoninus Pius, since otherwise the lack of inscriptions for a period of twenty years would be difficult to explain. (It seems probable that under this emperor other events of importance for the metroac cult also took place.[1])) The nature of the measures connected with the *taurobolium* is difficult to guess, partly because it is not established whether the sacrifice of a bull

[1]) For the founding of the temple of Attis at Ostia and the establishment of the archigallate, see P. Lambrechts, *Fêtes*, 153-159.

was already part of the cult of Cybele or not. If it was, then the measure was most likely the restricting of the name *taurobolium* to those sacrifices of bulls that took place in the context of the Great Mother's cult—that such ceremonies outside this cult had been given this name may be gathered from the inscription from Puteoli. The texts [1]) that mention the sacrifice of a bull in the cult of Cybele are all of a very late date, so that it is quite reasonable to suppose that no such rite took place in the metroac religion until the middle of the second century. In that case, the measures of Antoninus Pius would have consisted both of incorporating the sacrifice of a bull in the cult of the Great Mother and of conferring the title of *taurobolium* on such a sacrifice in this cult to the exclusion of all others.

The great popularity that the *taurobolia pro salute* enjoyed from their very beginning indicates that the emperor was most probably closely involved with the introduction of this new rite. It is possible [2]) that the law we have already quoted from the *Fragmenta Vaticana* [3]) is of the same period, but about this there is no certainty. There is every indication that the *taurobolium* was celebrated with the greatest solemnity, and that it sometimes (or perhaps even always) took up more than one day. This type of bull-sacrifice was probably further distinguished from other similar rites by the fact that it was not the *exta* but the *vires* that were given special treatment and that were dedicated to the *Mater deum*. It is strange that there have as yet been found no traces of such *taurobolia* in Rome, while at Ostia, only a few miles away, a large number were celebrated in this period.

The oldest *taurobolia* in the cult of Cybele were performed for the benefit of the emperor, but after only a short time it also became customary to celebrate the rite for the prosperity of the dedicator. Apart from the omission of the phrase *pro salute imperatoris* the inscriptions recording this second kind of *taurobolium* are identical with the *pro salute* ones. We may therefore deduce that the ceremony took exactly the same form in both cases—at any

[1]) Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Μάσταυρα; Joh. Lydus, *de mensibus* 4, 59.
[2]) P. Lambrechts, *Fêtes*, 155-156; Graillot, 153, n. 1.
[3]) *Fragm. vatic., de excusatione* § 148: *Item is qui in Portu pro salute imperatoris sacrum facit ex vaticinatione archigalli excusatur.*

rate so far as the inscriptions containing *facere* are concerned. *Taurobolia* such as these were celebrated for the first time, as far as is shown by the extant evidence, in A.D. 176 at Lactora, and then in A.D. 186 at Forum Popilii and in A.D. 199 at Ostia. The way in which the progress from *pro salute imperatoris* to the 'well-being of the dedicator' took place has a certain amount of light thrown on it by the inscriptions from Lyon and Ostia. In the first of these places the *taurobolia* were performed not only *pro salute imperatoris* but also *pro statu coloniae*,[1]) while in Ostia the intentions included the well-being of the senate, the *ordo equester*, the *XVviri*, the army or the sailors, as well as that of the emperor. And so the step to a *taurobolium* that was celebrated solely for the benefit of the dedicator was no longer a very great one.

As we have seen, the *taurobolium* entered its second phase in the second quarter of the third century. Terms such as *cernus*, *accipere*, and *tradere* then make their appearance in the inscriptions, indicating some sort of change in the ritual. From this we have deduced that alongside the sacrifice, which continued to be celebrated, another ceremony was added. This took the form of the catching of the victim's blood in the *cernus* and its being handed over to the dedicator. This blood was supposed to have purifying properties. (This last statement is not supported by any of the inscriptions of the second phase, but it is certainly true of the third-phase *taurobolium* and there is no reason to think that there was any change in the expectations of the participants on the beginning of this last phase).

The longing for purity and purification seems moreover to have been quite common at this time, and was in no way restricted to the cult of Cybele alone. Its nature and development have been explained by Réville.[2]) The worshippers of Cybele sought a means of obtaining this purification, and found it by ascribing purifying

[1]) No. **126** *pro salute imperatoris . . . . . et status coloniae lugdunensium.*
no. **127** [*pro salute . . .*] *totiusque domus divinae et situ col. Copiae-Claudiae Augustae Lugudunensium.*
no. **128** *pro salute imperatoris . . . . et statu. C.C.C.A. Lugudunensium.*
no. **129** *pro salute imperatoris . . . . . et statu C.C.C.A. Lugudunensium.*
See also no. **93** (Tegna); **109** (Lactora).

[2]) Réville, 153-156.

power to the blood of the victim in the *taurobolium*. This new idea naturally involved changes in the ritual of the rite. The first mention of the *Hilaria*, in which Attis' resurrection was celebrated,[1]) also dates from this period, and must surely be connected in some way with the other changes. It is probable that they are all symptoms of an evolution in the thought of the worshippers of Cybele.

But how are we to explain that anyone should take it into his head to attribute the power of purification to the blood of a bull? —the idea certainly strikes us as a little odd. The obvious sources of such a notion would seem to be the cults of Isis and Mithra, and Christianity. In the Isis cult purifying rites—using water—were very popular; Mithras' killing of the sacred bull was represented in all Mithraea, and it was plainly considered that the blood of the slaughtered bull possessed unusual powers; the possible influence of Christianity cannot be denied, though we mention it only with hesitation since in the past the numerous discussions on the ways in which the mystery religions and Christianity influenced each other have not always been conducted on a high level of scholarship. This is not the place to consider this problem in any detail. What we are at the moment interested in is whether the changes that the *taurobolium* went through about A.D. 225 can in any way be ascribed to the influence of Christianity. Loisy [2]) refused even to consider the possibility of such a thing, and thought rather that the development in the *taurobolium* had influenced the early Church. Gruppe,[3]) and Willoughby [4]) were of the same opinion. Before setting out our own views on the matter we should like to recall the wise and considered words of de Labriolle [5]) on the basic principles that should govern such an investigation:

"On sait quelle immense littérature a suscité cette question de l'influence que les mystères et les rites paiëns auraient exercée sur le christianisme . . . Un problème aussi complexe, où les détermina-

[1]) Lambrechts, *Attis*, 27 n. 2; in his recent study, *Hilaria*, Lambrechts rejects the interpretation of the *Hilaria* as a celebration of Attis' resurrection.
[2]) Loisy, 118.
[3]) Gruppe, 1553.
[4]) Willoughby, 132.
[5]) De Labriolle, 451-454.

tions chronologiques, encore que primordiales, sont extrêmement difficiles, et qui ne peut être résolu (s'il doit être jamais) qu'avec infiniment de tact et de sens critique ..... Qu'il y ait eu, du côté paien, des imitations voulues des rites et des symboles chrétiens, la chose n'est pas douteuse, et elle est de moins en moins contestée. .... En d'autres cas elle doit être tenue pour probable, de l'avis des historiens les plus compétents. ... En ces difficiles questions on ne pourra s'entendre que lorsqu'on sera tombé d'accord sur quelques points de méthode. Avant de parler ,,d'emprunts'', soit d'un côté, soit de l'autre, on devra reconnaitre: 1) que toutes les religions, du moment qu'elles visent à établir un commerce entre l'homme et Dieu, sont dans le cas d'user de symboles qui se ressemblent; car, dans cet ordre, le voeu de la nature humaine ne saurait varier indéfiniment— 2) que, vivant et se développant au milieu de la civilisation gréco-romaine, le christianisme n'a pu rejeter systématiquement toutes les formes où s'exprimait jusqu'-alors le sentiment religieux, encore qu'il en répudiât quelques-unes— 3) que ,,des ressemblances ne supposent pas nécessairement une imitation'' et que ,,les similitudes d'idées ou de pratiques doivent s'expliquer en dehors de tout emprunt, par une communauté d'origine''— 4) que c'est un abus formel d'employer, en parlant des cultes païens, la terminologie spécifiquement catholique, dont, en fait, ces cultes n'ont jamais usé; et que rien ne favorise autant les confusions fallacieuses et les fâcheux à peu près— 5) enfin que, s'ils veulent dépasser la zone peu sûre des rapprochements ,,ingénieux'', les historiens des religions doivent se résigner à toute une série de travaux d'approche, conduits avec la rigueur de la méthode philologique, pour déterminer la nuance sémantique des mots, éventuellement les changements de sens qu'ils ont pu subir, et l'exacte chronologie des doctrines. Faute de ces précautions préalables, tout flotte au gré du dilettantisme érudit.''

Cumont had already [1]) given careful expression to his views on the same problem. We shall then in the absence of all definite evidence not make any rash pronouncements. The most one can

[1]) Cumont, *R.O.*, IX-XII.

say is that it is possible that at this period the Christian ideas concerning the sin-forgiving properties of Christ's blood may have had some influence. We do not however think that this influence was of primary importance in this stage of the evolution.

In the transition from the second to the third phase, however, it is obvious that the influence of Christianity has been at work. The changes in the rite were not changes of intention but rather changes of ritual. The ceremony with the *cernus* was replaced by the descent into the pit and being sprinkled with blood. It is obvious that this alteration in the *taurobolium* must have been due to Christianity, when we consider that by A.D. 300 it had become the great competitor of the heathen religions and was known to everyone. The complete submersion that purified the aspirant Christian of all his sins may quite possibly have inspired in the worshippers of Cybele the desire to be sprinkled all over with the purifying blood.

The emphasis was now placed on this aspect of the rite and its sacrificial character was almost completely forgotten. The killing of the bull was no longer a sacrifice, but merely the only means to obtain the purifying blood. The loss of the sacrificial aspect can be seen in the description of Prudentius, where he makes no mention of sacrifice, and in the inscriptions which contain none of the motives and costs we find in the earlier periods. The disappearance of the intention may also have been partly caused by this change of view, but mainly by the Emperors' support for Christianity. The phrase '*in aeternum renatus*' that occurs in one inscription shows that in a few exceptional cases the influence of Christianity was even more marked. It would of course be wrong to assume that this isolated expression represented the expectations of every *tauroboliatus*. Another, contemporaneous sample of the competition between Christ and Cybele that resulted in persecution is the declaration of a supporter of Cybele to Augustine: '*et ipse pileatus christianus est*'.

This is probably as far as it is possible to go in explaining the evolution of the *taurobolium*. The scantiness of our sources leaves many gaps in our knowledge, and much of what we have just said depends more on guess-work than anything else.

III. THE ORIGIN OF THE TAUROBOLIUM

All kinds of solutions have been proposed for the problem of the origin of the Taurobolium. These have of course been very greatly influenced by their authors' ideas on the forms and history of the rite. It is only natural that a scholar who believes the *taurobolium* was always celebrated in the form described by Prudentius should adopt a completely different approach in his investigation from that of some one who sees evidence of an evolution in the rite. Since the great majority of those who have written about the origins of the *taurobolium* have denied all forms of evolution, the conclusions they have reached are necessarily very different from those that we shall propose.

Nevertheless for the sake of completeness we shall summarize the most important earlier theories and set out the possible objections to them before mentioning our own suggested solution.

For those scholars who consider that the dedicator descended into the pit from the very first days of the rite the problem is reduced more or less to whether the *taurobolium* came into existence in the context of the cult of Cybele or was taken over from some other religion. When they have decided this point they consider that everything has been explained. Cumont [1]) has devoted a few articles to the point, and in each of them he came to the conclusion that the rite had been borrowed from some outside source. He bases his arguments on the great difference between the date of the earliest mention of the cult of Cybele and the first record of a *taurobolium*. The fact that the oldest *taurobolium* inscriptions make no mention of Cybele strengthened him in his opinion. In his attempts at identifying the cult from which the rite had been taken over Cumont tried two different methods. In his first article he arrived by a complicated series of identifications at the cult of Anahita. His main piece of evidence [2]) is a text in which he finds sacrifices of bulls in the cult of Anahita. From this he deduces that

[1]) Cumont, *Anahita* 132-134; Cumont, *Bellona*, 98; Cumont, *R.Ph.*, 194-197.
[2]) Plutarchus, *Vita Luculli*. 24.

there were *taurobolia* in this cult. The text in question, however, mentions not the sacrifice of bulls to Anahita but that of cows. Cumont tries to explain this away—„C'est évidemment par négligence que Plutarque emploie le féminin"—not a very convincing argument. But even if this text did happen to deal with sacrifices of bulls this would prove nothing about the taking over of the *taurobolium*. In a later article [1]) Cumont made use of an etymology of *tauropolium* (which he regarded as the original form) to trace a connexion with Artemis Tauropolos. By means of a few identifications he eventually arrived at Ma-Bellona. We have already shown that this is not a good point of departure for source-hunters, since the original form of the word was certainly *taurobolium*. Cumont also makes use of two inscriptions from Kastel [2]) that were erected by the *hastiferi*—adherents of the cult of Bellona. The first of these is a dedication to the *domus divina* and the *Numen Augusti* dated the 24th of March. Cumont assumes that this date shows that we here have a *taurobolium* inscription. There is no justification for such a deduction. The other inscription commemorates the restoration of a local *Mons Vaticanus* by the *hastiferi*, and should surely not be connected with a *taurobolium* merely because of this name.

Moore [3]) and Rummens [4]) base themselves on the two texts that mention the sacrifice of bulls in the cult of Cybele and come to the conclusion that the *taurobolium* came into being within this cult. We have already detailed our objections to the use made of these texts. Sayous [5]) and Zippel [6]) suppose that the development of the

[1]) Cumont, *R.Ph.*, 195; Cumont, *Bellona*, 104-105.

[2]) CIL XIII, 7313 (224 A.D.) *In honorem domus divinae, Numini Augusti hastiferi sive pastores consistentes Kastello Mattiacorum de suo posuerunt VIII Kalendas Apriles.*
CIL XIII, 7281, (A.D. 286) *In honorem domus divinae, deae Virtuti Bellonae montem Vaticanum vetustate conlabsum restituerunt hastiferi civitatis Mattiacorum.*
X Kalendas Septembres, imperatore C. Iulio Maximo Augusto et Africano consulibus.

[3]) Moore, *Origin*, 43-48.

[4]) Rummens, 194-212.

[5]) Sayous, 145-149.

[6]) Zippel, 519.

taurobolium took place in Italy, but that the ceremony originated in a custom of Asia Minor by which the hunter made the blood of the quarry his own. According to Zippel this ceremony at one stage came under Semitic influence. Graillot [1]) also sought the origin of the rite among the hunters of Asia Minor, but thought that the dedicator had descended into the pit to be sprinkled with the blood from the very beginning. Another scholar who thought that it was not necessary to seek further than the cult of the Great Mother was Oppermann.[2]) Those who did place the origin outside this cult included Toutain,[3]) Wissowa,[4]) Prümm,[5]) Latte,[6]) Schepelern,[7]) and Beaujeu.[8])

From what has been said in the previous chapter it is obvious that the *taurobolium* evolved into the form we know from Prudentius when it had already become part of the cult of Cybele. This does not of course bring us much closer to solving the problem of its origin. We have been able to show that *taurobolia* were celebrated before the rite was introduced into the metroac cult about the year 160; we have also shown that the earliest *taurobolia* in this cult were sacrificial in character. The question we now have to answer is why this rite was given the name of *taurobolium.*

The problem is of course the ending -βόλιον. Why was a compound of this word used as the name of a sacrifice? In Homer [9]) we find the word ἐλαφηβόλος with the meaning 'deer-killing', and there are also other words (formed from the same elements) that are connected with the hunting or killing of deer.[10]) The oldest use of the words ταυροβόλιον and κριοβόλιον are plainly part of a similar series. In an inscription from Pergamon that dates from 135 B.C. a μεταπαιδιὰ τῶν ἐφήβων is mentioned—this hunting

[1]) Graillot, 153-155.
[2]) Oppermann, 19.
[3]) Toutain, 84.
[4]) Wissowa, 323.
[5]) Prümm, 262-263.
[6]) Latte, 353-355.
[7]) Schepelern, 115.
[8]) Beaujeu, 104.
[9]) Homeros, *Ilias* 18, 319.
[10]) ἐλαφηβολία, ἡ: Callimachus, *Dian.*, 262; ἐλαφηβολίαι: Soph., *Ajax* 178.

game ended with the sacrifice of the quarry.[1]) The inscription from Pinara mentions ταυροβόλια alongside κυνήγια and προκυνήγια, which must surely refer to games,[2]) and it seems probable that in this case also the ceremony concluded with a sacrifice. It is possible that the inscription from Ilion that records a *taurobolium* with forty bulls should be interpreted as referring to similar sort of game. But it is difficult to believe that all forty were slaughtered, and it seems more likely that just as in the *kriobolia* at Pergamon only one or two of the animals that had been quickly overcome were killed.

The words *taurobolium* and *criobolium*, which originally denoted the hunting and the struggle were perhaps also used for the killing and sacrifice of the animal. And so if a sacrifice only was performed, the same word could have been used. However it is probable that it was only the killing and sacrifice of a bull in a certain way that came to be denoted by *taurobolium*, since it would otherwise be difficult to explain why the word was not used for all sacrifices of bulls. Prudentius' using the word *venabulum* (vs. 1027) is significant in this connexion. The change in the meaning of *taurobolium* must have taken place in the 1st century B.C. and the first A.D., since in the year 105 of our era the word occurs with the meaning of 'sacrifice' in inscription 9 from Pergamon. There is nothing in the context to indicate that we here have any kind of hunt or game. And so the Greek word must gradually spread into the Western part of the Empire where it was latinized to *taurobolium*. This word is found in an inscription of 134 from Puteoli, at a time when the rite had not yet been taken into the cult of Cybele. It was only a few years later that it was restricted to members of this cult.

[1]) Καὶ παραστήσας κριὸν ὡς κάλλιστον κεχρυσωμένον τὰ κέρατα χάριν κρατηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν νέων αὐτοῦ καὶ καλλιερηθέντος.

[2]) For bull games see L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Paris 1940, 315-318, in which there is an inscription containing the word ταυροβόλιον quoted. But it does not refer to a particular *taurobolium*; (SEG II, 727): Εὔηνος Εὐήνου, ἱερεὺς / Ἄρεως διὰ βίου, ἀρχιε/ρώμενος τάς τε χαμά/ρας καὶ τὸ ἐκφουγῖν / καὶ τὴν καθίστραν καὶ / τὰ θυρώματα καὶ τὰ / λοιπὰ τοῦ ταυροβο/λίου ἀπήρτισεν ἐκ / τῶν ἰδίων.

As Robert pointed out, the other particulars in this inscription show that it is a kind of game that is being referred to.

CONCLUSION

In the course of this study we have done our best to draw a clear distinction between hypothesis and more-or-less-established fact. But it may nevertheless be of some use to summarize the whole argument, indicating various rocks of fact among the shifting sands of the imagination.

It seems indisputable to us that the *taurobolium* went through a process of evolution in which three phases can be distinguished. Although this is not the first time the evolution of the *taurobolium* has been propounded, on previous occasions there has been no attempt to work the idea out systematically and the existence of the transitional phase was not noticed.

We consider that we have shown quite clearly that in its first phase the rite consisted of the sacrifice of a bull to the *Mater Deum*. It is not certain whether the ceremony with the *vires*—i.e. the victim's genitals—was a part of the *taurobolium* in this phase. The third-phase *taurobolium* is of course the one described by Prudentius, and in performing it the faithful expected to obtain moral purification through the victim's blood.

The existence of the second phase and the important part played in it by the *cernus* can hardly be denied, but it is difficult to see exactly what form the ceremony can have taken. It is however probable that the blood of the victim already had an important role.

The inscriptions show us that in each of the three phases the *taurobolium* formed part of the cult of Cybele, although the oldest documents indicate that this was not always so. It seems likely that the *taurobolium* was taken up into the metroac cult during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

The nature of the *taurobolium* in its premetroac phase remains uncertain, but a number of indications point to its having consisted of a ritual hunt followed by the sacrifice of the quarry.

Throughout this book we have laid emphasis on the hypothetical character of the causes we have given for evolution of the *taurobolium*—after all, not a single source tells us anything definite about

them. However, the wide-spread desire of purity in the third century seems sufficient to explain the change to the second phase, and the fierce competition between paganism and Christianity is the obvious reason for the developments characteristic of the third phase.

Naturally enough there are still problems to be solved. We have already referred to the difficulty of reconstructing the rite in its second phase with any precision. Other questions still to be answered are why there are no *taurobolium* inscriptions from Rome dated before A.D. 295, and what the reason is for the exact dates found in most of the inscriptions. It will be possible to gain a clearer idea of this rite only if further sources are discovered.

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